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WOODSTOCK LETTERS

SUMMER 1967

Volume 96 Number 3

INTRODUCTION

In seeking to articulate the significance of community life, many Jesuits have asked: are we a family? an army? bachelors living in common? **Edward F. Heenan, S.J.**, a graduate student at Boston College, and **Francis X. Shea, S.J.**, a professor of English at Boston College, discuss this problem in terms of small communities.

John G. Milhaven, S.J. teaches moral theology at Woodstock. **Charles J. Donnelly, S.J.**, a fourth year theologian, evaluates the problems and difficulties which foster instability in a theologate.

In 1961, after **Sigmund J. Laschenski, S.J.** (Maryland Province) had been assigned to the Catholic Major Seminary, Rangoon, he wrote an account of the Burmese mission in WOODSTOCK LETTERS. Again, six years later, he records his mission experiences, explaining why non-Burmese Jesuits have been expelled from that country.

John L'Heureux, S.J. (New England Province) is the author of *Quick as Dandelions* and *Rubrics For a Revolution.*

Few would deny the significant role Jesuit spirituality has had in the Church during the past four hundred years. St. Ignatius bridged the medieval and modern world: his spirituality is not rooted in either period. Ignatian spirituality is characterized by a certain balance which does not impose obligations and restrictions on the individual Jesuit. Since the time of St. Ignatius General Congregations have passed legislation concerning the prayer life of the Society. Otto Karrer's book on St. Francis Borgia discusses Borgia's influence on the prayer-life of the Society. We are grateful to **George W. Traub, S.J.**, and **Walter J. Bado, S.J.** for translating a section of Karrer's work.

The Fall Issue of WOODSTOCK LETTERS will be devoted mainly to the topic of religious obedience

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WOODSTOCK LETTERS solicits manuscripts from all Jesuits on all topics of particular interest to fellow Jesuits: Ignatian spirituality, the activities of our various apostolates, problems facing the modern Society, and the history of the Society, particularly in the United States and its missions. In general it is our policy to publish major obituary articles on men whose work would be of interest to the whole assistancy.

Letters of comment and criticism will be welcomed for the Readers' Forum.

Manuscripts, preferably the original copy, should be double-spaced with ample margins. Whenever possible, contributors of articles on Ignatian spirituality and Jesuit history should follow the stylistic norms of the Institute of Jesuit Sources. These are most conveniently found in Supplementary Notes B and C and in the list of abbreviations in Joseph de Guibert, S.J., *The Jesuits: Their Spiritual Doctrine and Practice*, trans. W. J. Young (Chicago, 1964), pp. 609–16.

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A QUEST FOR RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY

for effective and creative lives

EDWARD F. HEENAN, S.J.

IN EVERY AGE there are certain pivotal words which by their use and constant redefinition mark the distinctive and important channels of thought in that particular age. These words reflect the temper of a collective mind, and by means of their symbolic value, both condition the outcome of thought and become the initiators and elicitors of further thought. In medieval times such words as "family," "guild," "church," and "group" must have been of particular significance. In the 19th century the key words would have been "individual," "progress," "reason," and "freedom." Finally the words which best typify today's complexity and ambivalence might be demonstrated by the popularity of two sets of words denoting opposing concepts. Words such as "alienation," "insecurity," and "disintegration" exist alongside a profound regard for the cultural values of "status," "membership," "fellowship," and "community." The apparent juxtaposition is enlightening because it reveals the fact that presently community is referred to in terms of a cure for an excessive, debilitating, and almost suicidal individualism. Our culture seeks a balance between the community and the individual. In general, during the Middle Ages the cultural commitment seemed to have been heavily on the side of an all-embracing community without a great deal of recognition or concern for the individual and his freedom. In the 19th century the opposite extreme prevailed: emancipation of the individual from an irrational

status. At the present time we seem to be poised near the center of the continuum. While we have a residual commitment to the value and dignity of the individual, we also realize the salvific value of community.

A practical concept of community

If business, medicine, education, the military, and mass media might be used as indicators for today's society, the concept of community and the quest for the actualization of that concept are taking a new and unique form. In the small specialized task groups of large corporations, in the adept special forces units in the army, in educational and medical research teams, and in television programs such as "Mission Impossible," we are being exposed to a new type of community, a new solution to the antithesis between the individual and communal life. The reason why such small communities are unique is that in each case the individual is integrated into the community at the apogee of his creativity and individuality. Each of the members of the group is selected as a unit in the system because he has something distinctive to contribute to the group and to the achievement of its goal. The members are all specialists in a particular area and, therefore, are dependent on other members for the supplementation of their own speciality. In short, the perennial tension between the individual and the community is today resolved in small primary groups composed of specialists, who in the fulfillment of a specific task achieve a certain type of community with a minimal submersion of individuality.

Religious community

In religious life the key words which are currently bouncing off the recreation room walls are "self-fulfillment" and "community." Such words indicate a nexus between religious communities and the present day ethos implicitly reflecting the same dichotomy found in the more extensive community between the historical emphasis on the individual and the need for an intricate web of personal relationships supporting and enhancing his life and work.

If there is a need for community, and a quest for its attainment implicit in the present emphasis on community in religious life, there is also an inherent indictment of the present conception of religious community which seems to be existing on the theological

concepts of another generation. In fact, I think that local religious communities of active religious orders labor under certain sociological impediments, and the major one is that they are simply too large. It is a sociological fact that any group having more than twenty members necessarily splits into a number of sub-groups. Such fragmentation can produce a semblance of communal life with each of the sub-groups having at least one representative in another sub-group resulting in an accidental form of unity, but it is a unity in which nobody directly participates.

Fragmentation also leads to the lack of a clearly defined attainable goal towards which all the members might strive, and, in some instances, can result in the alienation of individuals and entire subgroups from the rest of the community. Another consequence of this division and individuation in religious communities is that it can induce a type of nostalgia in its members. It is not a nostalgia for the adventurous spirit of earlier times, but a longing for the supposedly greater community and moral certainty of preceding generations. The final symptom of the communal vacuum in a large community is the growing appeal of a pseudo-intimacy with others, a kind of pathetic dependence on the superficial symbols of friendship and association founded in a craving for affection. Accompanying this is a faint realization that this is neither intimacy nor affection. These are all remedial techniques as well as symptoms of a community which is too ponderous and too large to tend to the basic needs of all of its members. The end product is often a lack of any substantial unity in a religious community that does not provide for a meaningful life experience.

Two main functions

But simply to reduce the size of religious communities will not bring about a viable community life. To attempt to apply the small group notion of community to religious communities, we must further take into consideration the two most important functions of any religious community.

The first function is a supportive one. The religious community should be a family, an in-group, or a primary group involving not only the opportunity for intimate face-to-face contact with every member of the community, but making such opportunities a neces-

sity. The supportive function of community life must provide for the psychological refreshment of every individual; it must provide him with membership, status, and develop his emotional endowment. It is only in this sense that a religious community can be correctly called a family, the model for all primary and supportive communities. The supportive aspect is the only communal function remaining in most large and diversified communities, but since any community with more than twenty members is too unwieldy for adequate face-to-face interaction on a daily basis, such a community over-taxes the supportive ability of any single member and of the community as a whole. The result is often the craving for affection and the reliance on tokens of friendship.

The second more important function of any religious community is that primary task function toward which the community *as a community* strives. Especially in this matter of single goal-orientation and goal attainment the large religious community is deficient. In a small community the primary function or goal of the community is of the greatest importance for the maintenance of the community. It should be defined as something which is attainable but which is not able to be attained unless the community, by means of the interdependence of the talents of its individuals, seeks the goal as a community. The goal can vary with the type of community and its particular apostolate, but in every case it should be something immediate and specific enough to inspire and motivate the individual member.

Small task-oriented communities

It is my belief that the future of religious community in America requires a tighter and more consistent but smaller community organizational structure. The religious community in the future can, on an experimental level, become a small organizational team. This team should be composed of an uneven number of people to insure against any psychological ostracism or alienation concerning decisions of importance to the unit. This means that all provisions should be taken to see that no member of the community is constantly holding or defending a position to which all the rest are opposed. Likewise every member of the unit should be a specialist in some way. He should be integrated in such a way that his in-

dividual talents are fully used. In fact, these talents should be integrated so that if they fail to exercise or to perform their specialty, the primary function of the community cannot be attained. This provides an internal psychological control against anomic operations and insures at least a minimal level of effectiveness.

In regard to the primary task function two things should again be stressed: first, the goal of the community should be clearly defined in the minds of all of the members, and secondly, the members must be given some norm for determining the relative position of the communal goal and for knowing when they have achieved it. With respect to the latter statement we must again emphasize that the goal should be attainable, at least in part. This means not defining the goal of a community as, for instance, "the service of the poor," but being much more specific about who the poor are and how they are to be served.

In regard to the range and scope of activity of such communities, I would call attention to the fact that in some cases the small task-orientated community could be a highly skilled team of specialists with each member holding a doctorate degree as a union card. But that would not be a necessity for all communities. In some, a member's specialty might be the fact that he has "a way with people," and in this case his personality is his unique contribution to the community and the achievement of its primary function. In another, it might simply be that an individual knows the language or has a good grasp of the customs of the people with whom the community is dealing. In short, the task-orientated community allows for a high degree of specialization, but it does not demand that it be academic specialization.

I also feel that in a community with a well-defined and tangible primary function, the supportive function necessary for the success of community living would be more natural and more effective than it has been in the large community. In fact the effectiveness of small task groups, as far as providing and nurturing emotional support is concerned, has already been tested in military life. Such small highly specialized primary groups are at the foundation of military organization, and are also the reason why soldiers perform so well in a combat situation. It seems then that active cooperation towards the attainment of a common goal is the foundation of the supportive function in any small task group.

Possible difficulties

I might recognize and anticipate problems in this small group theory of community by stating that it is neither my intent to restrict a discussion of religious community solely to the natural and sociological level nor to bypass the difficulties which such a system of communities might engender on the level of government. In the first case I have limited myself to the sociological level and excluded consideration of the theological level. A theologically viable community must be built on a sociologically sound community structure. I feel that the theological aspects of small community living could only serve to enhance the community's efficiency and motivation, and to facilitate the achievement of its goal.

I am also aware of the fact that living in a small group presents many difficulties. It is for this very reason that I would insist that the period of time spent in early religious formation be utilized for the training of aspirants to the religious life in group living, and especially for socializing the individual to that role which he will later play in a specific community.

I would recommend that each community have a spokesman rather than a superior as such, and that this spokesman be a different member chosen periodically to represent the community to the centrally located superior or group of superiors. Many problems of government can be postponed, however, if religious orders experiment with small task-orientated communities at the present time. But in the end a decision will have to be made between an efficient form of government and an effective community life, because the two are inextricably linked.

Conclusion

Finally, I would like to summarize some of the advantages of small task-orientated communities. First, they provide naturally for primary or deeply personal group interaction both because of the number of members in the community, and also because of the frequency of contact among the individual members. Another advantage is that small communities limit the amount and likelihood of psychological sanctions within the group. They provide a better psychological atmosphere in which the individual religious

is to live, while at the same time the dependence of individuals upon one another for the achievement of their primary function provides built-in secondary controls to insure the cooperation and performance of all individuals. It makes the community function as a community. Finally, small communities will be mobile. They will be able to remain in one place as long as their work endures, but when it has been successfully completed they have the opportunity to move to another situation. I think that as a corollary the value of a mobile community is especially relevant because of its attraction to those young men and women who aspire to the religious life.

At the present time not even the concept and practical application of religious community is beyond the limit of legitimate inquiry into religious life. Since the local community is so important in the integration of the individual into the religious order whose livelihood is God's work, we cannot afford to be remiss in our quest for an efficient, practical, and acceptable type of community which will give some meaning both to the concept, and to the life styles of those individuals who work it out in practice.

Dostoevsky's Grand Inquisitor recognized the value of religious community when he said:

"So long as man remains free he strives for nothing so incessantly and painfully as to find someone to worship. But man seeks to worship what is established beyond dispute, so that all men will agree at once to worship it. For these pitiful creatures are concerned to find not only what one or the other can worship, but find something that all will believe in and worship; what is essential is that all may be together in it. This craving for community of worship is the chief misery of every man individually and of all humanity from the beginning of time."

Our existence in religious life is for the purpose of overcoming such individual misery, and to develop a community of worship in our apostolic endeavors. That fact highlights the importance of our quest for community. In this sense community furnishes both the rationale for our living together in religious life and for our apostolic commitment.

SMALL COMMUNITIES IN THE SOCIETY OF JESUS

a place to live
and "feel at home"

Francis X. Shea, S.J.

The achievement of "community" is obviously important for the health of the Society. It cannot be any longer presumed that, because Jesuits living under one roof have behind them a history of Jesuit living and a record of tradition and custom, we automatically have Jesuit communities. Indeed it can be argued that to the degree that the present Society is unhealthy (lack of vocations, unhappiness of the men, defections, etc.) the measure of its illness can be related directly to our failure to achieve community.

One of the presumptions behind the efforts within the Church at *aggiornamento* and the Society's efforts at renewal, is that life within the Church and within the religious cloister is palpably affected by secular conditions. Now, perhaps, no feature of contemporary secular society has been more observed, researched, speculated about, or deplored, than the phenomenon of changing community concepts. Talcott Parsons, for example, attempts to structure the entire academic enterprise of sociology around the polar concepts of community (*Gemeinschaft*) and society (*Geschellschaft*) which he derived originally from Toennies.

The presumption such researchers make is that community and society are distinctive theatres of human action which, in the conditions of modern life especially, are becoming more and more

distinctive. For our purposes, there is no pressing need for accurately reflecting the disciplined articulation these concepts receive in a man like Parsons. Let us review, then, in a layman's translation, one of the features which have been assigned each of these theatres of action.

Community and society roughly correspond to private and public life. Action in the private (community) sphere is characterized, first of all, by a tone of affection and emotion, which is for the most part neutralized when the human being acts in the public or societal sphere. We see this in our own immediate circumstances best, perhaps, in the lives of our lay professors. While not presuming anything in the concrete, one may be permitted to argue that some of them, on some occasions, after some certain provocations, do argue with their wives and may even spank their children. On evidence less presumptive, we can all attest that departmental meetings sometimes feature raised voices and thumped tables. It is in assessing the difference of texture and tone between those two instances of anger, private and public, that we can assess the difference in level and quality of the emotions proper, on the one hand, to community and to society, on the other.

In the conclusions reached by the majority of research done today on the relation between these two theatres of human action, it seems clear that society, the public arena, is increasing its demands and the extent of its influence. The behavior proper to society is more frequently and more peremptorily commanded. The conditions of life call for more and more "professionalism," as it is called in English. This quality has many features, of course, but is saliently characterized by action and word bleached of emotion; the abstract anger of the departmental meeting is an instance of the limit it allows to emotion.

Enclave of privacy

In reaction, perhaps, to this imperialism of the public sphere, men have grown very jealous of and anxious to protect their dwindling private lives. Community, in a retreat, is fiercely defended. A further presumption, for which a majority of social researchers would claim evidence, is that a final confusion between these two theatres of action, an absolute phasing out of the private

by the public would result in individual and societal sickness. Not to understand and accept that community behavior is stylistically and substantially different from societal behavior, not to understand and accept the proper times and places for each, is to initiate destructive reverberations in a man or in a group which can shake them to pieces.

I submit two observations about life in the Society which could serve I think, as hypotheses for research: (1) we, like the world around us, have experienced an increasing demand for professional, public, or societal behavior; (2) since for the most part we live in large communities, we are less and less able to preserve an enclave of privacy, of that protected emotional expression which characterizes community in the narrow sense. I suggest that such research would prove that we suffer all the divisions, both individual and corporate, that social psychologists would predict for us. We are confused intellectually about the expectations of those we live closest to. We are, in consequence, emotionally inhibited and congested in our dealings with one another, and unable to act spontaneously and generously with either each other or the world of externs.

I think that research would prove these generalizations to be factual. But I am sufficiently convinced of their validity to be willing to forego the comfort of academic security. I submit that the malaise of the Society is palpable, that therapy is immediately needed, and that the prescription is, at least largely, obvious, and it parallels the needs of society at large: to distinguish community from societal behavior and to protect, if need be savagely, community from society. In the concrete, this means that we must increase the number of small communities.

When persons (especially *men* with their competitive personalities) are gathered together in large numbers for a long period of time, it becomes inevitable that a certain formality of relationship and procedure be established. It is not otherwise possible for them to coexist without destructive friction. For Jesuit life this simply means that there is no retreat from societal behavior as long as the individual Jesuit lives his life of survival and nurture in a large community. The strongest emotions are connected with the radically biological conditions of life: food, physical protection, sex,

and shelter. When the Jesuit professional lives out the biological conditions of his life without being able to indulge in legitimate expression of his strongest emotions, he is necessarily inhibited in precisely those ways that can wreak psychological damage. It goes without saying, of course, that I am not speaking here of gross self-indulgence. By his commitment, a religious is dedicated to the inhibition of certain dramatic biological emotions. But it is precisely for this reason that he must find it possible to elaborate and express many legitimate areas of emotion without feeling pressures of threat from his equals and superiors in an overly elaborated societal structure. He must, in the words of the decrees of the 31st Congregation, have a place to live where he "feels at home."

Size of community

The proposition which I wish to make is simply this: no Jesuit should be asked to live in a community which demands that he adopt constantly and without respite the wooden, abstract, and heavily polite behavior proper to the public arena. I submit that this means that no Jesuit should be asked to live in a community larger than ten or fifteen. Actually I pick these numbers quite innocently of any empirical support and, perhaps, more for their mathematical ease of handling than for any provable insights into the conditions of community life.

Say we take the number ten. I would propose that the ideal community of ten Jesuits reflect both the age spread and the professional spectrum of the Jesuits in a given locality. The 31st Congregation suggests that "as far as possible" a man's place of residence and his theatre of work be separated. I suggest that what is needed is more than a geographical separation and that the full extent of the possibility called for demands a total separation of the conditions of work and domestic life. In a community of ten, one could hypothesize that there would be two to three Jesuits retired or semi-retired, four to five "earners" who are employed in a variety of tasks (college teaching, high school teaching, parish work, administration, etc.) and two or three Jesuits in training. The earners would be employed in some active work either sponsored by the Society or not, but from which they take a professional

salary and bring it back to their community. A part of this would go to the central treasury of the province to be used for the support of the schools in which Ours are educated, for the novitiate and tertianship, for hospitalization of the sick, and for the expenses connected with the professional running of a province. Another portion of the earners' salaries would go to the immediate care of the community in which they live, and a third portion to their individual professional needs (car, library, etc.) which would be worked out in each case with the provincial and explicitly understood by all the members of the community.

Poverty and cash

I suggest with some trepidation that while this particular recommendation would, in the eyes of some, radically change the nature of our understanding of the vow of poverty, it, nevertheless, might be advisable to reserve a certain portion of the earners' professional income for their own free disposal. In a society in which the definition of fundamental worth has, in fact, been related to the "cash nexus" it can legitimately be questioned whether it is wise or even possible by a wooden interpretation of the vow of poverty to leave a man, so completely as we do, without an objective scale of self-evaluation. I am not arguing for the individualistic interpretation of the cash nexus but rather, quite the opposite. I am arguing that we find some way for a man to assess his own contribution to the common cause. If he is allowed to determine freely the disposition of some portion of his earnings, he might even be moved to contribute to charity.

I am quite well aware of how radically this proposal of small community living, especially as I propose it here—reflecting the age and employment spectra of the Society—strikes at many presuppositions upon which present life in the Society is organized. The fundamental principle of organization of community life in the Society at present is that a community is established to serve a given work. The work, be it school or parish, is larger and more important than any of the men engaged in it. The men, their talents, and their efforts, serve a work chosen by the wisdom of superiors to be worthy of their service. The most obvious problem that this arrangement creates is a lack of flexibility. A work once established

by the choice of a few, perhaps now dead, superiors, demands the constant superintendence of Jesuits who may see little or no worth to the job they are doing. In our era of such accelerating change, it seems clear that no secure basis for the full employment and realization of the talents of the men of the Society can be found, except the perception in the concrete of who these men are and what talents they possess.

The motivations for which a man joins the Society can be expressed in their simplest and most general fashion as "a desire to live for God." It is not possible for a man situated in a modern, technological society to live at all without taking into account that radical bifurcation of the conditions of life which we have seen the sociologists analyze as these two stylistic theatres of action, community and society. If we are going to make it possible for the Jesuit to live for God in the modern era, we must make it possible for him to live effectively and without confusion in these two separated theatres of action. In order to propose one possible way in which the demands of a total living for God can be achieved under modern conditions, I have proposed the small community. I have tried to indicate not only the advantages of the small community but also the fundamentally new demands it makes upon our present arrangements. I do not suppose that I have exhausted the implications of small community living and by no means do I insist that the radical nature of the adjustments I foresee are uniquely desirable, let alone inevitable. With all earnestness, however, I do urge that we consider the advantages of small community living, that we undertake immediately a series of observed experiments in small community living, and that we begin now to think out the implications which might be involved in our adopting on a massive scale for the entire Society the small community design.

THE WORD: FOR PRIEST AND POET

creation out of love

John L'Heureux, S.J.

It was ripening September
when whimsy seized the
Father, but with infinite

forbearance he did not
create till April. Eternal
ripeness has no need for

apples. It was this: light
out of pure light streaming
loving the light and light

loving, breathing between
them Spirit, not lovers'
kisses but lovers' hearts

the two a oneness—all one:
seed flower and fullness.
This loving overflowed

exploding in that first
epiphany a rainbow, pattern
for creating lesser worlds,

thought word reflection
Adam bride and child
poet sorrow and song.

Pattern for creating lesser worlds. The Father's love of the Son and the Son's love of the Father eternally spirates the Holy Ghost; from a superabundance of love God created through his Son, Jesus Christ, everything that is and saw that it was good. Creation out of love: this is the eternal pattern for all creations—man and wife birthing their child, the poet evolving his poem, the priest breathing Christ into bread and wine and the souls of men. As the Father created through his Word, so do the poet and the priest create through words.

This essay, another futile attempt to bring order out of chaos, is a random look at the words of poet and priest to see how they are alike and how they differ, to see the ramifications of the word in the lives of poet and priest. We are asking, I suppose, if it is possible for one man to be at the same time completely committed to both God's word and his own. It is too facile to say that where God gives a charism he gives as well sufficient grace. Does the charism of the priest leave room for the grace of the poet? The word of God was given as a sign of contradiction.

The difference between loneliness and solitude, dullness and stillness, science and wisdom, problem and mystery, mere talk and the living word, is not a difference of quality alone; it is one of spirituality and spiritual involvement. Loneliness belongs to the composite being man, whereas solitude is more proper to the soul alone, less restricted by the limitations of the flesh; it is spiritual and ethereal. And so of the other disjunctions. I do not mean to say that the soul is Platonically trapped in flesh, depending for its freedom on how completely it can escape the body. Only soul and body together in perfect harmonious union can experience the depths of mystery; the thick of soul remains forever in the arid province of the merely problematic. I do mean to say that the richer the experience, the more deeply will the soul be involved. Witness Christ, the Word made flesh. But we shall come back later to the experiencing of Christ; we are speaking here of different kinds of words and the extent of spiritual involvement they imply.

Poet, prophet, philosopher

There are many kinds of words. The prime analogate of all words is, of course, the Word of God, the Word who *is* God, the Son of the Father. Then there is the philological word, the written or spoken medium of communication. There is the psychological word, the simple apprehension of the direct universal, so Scholastics say. There is the word of the Scriptures: *eructavit cor meum verbum bonum*, a use of word in neither the purely grammatical nor the prophetic sense; word as inspired prayer. There is the word of the prophet, *dabar*, the word that symbolizes and effects, the word not only inspired but commanded. The prophet's word is not his own. He speaks the word spoken *through* him. His involvement with it is total. The imagery and symbol, the music and vituperation are his own; but the *verbum*, the vision for whose transmission he exists, is from another. The prophet's word is closely allied to the poet's.

The word of the poet exists somewhere between that of the prophet and that of the philosopher, since the poet is at once less irrevocably committed than the prophet and more personally involved than the philosopher. The poet does not serve as medium through whom the word is spoken; unlike the prophet, he forms his word with image, symbol, music in such a way that the poem is the objectification of his own particular experience, not a warning of the wrath to come. Oversimplifying, we may say that the poet's word is conceived in sensation, enwombed in imagination, brought forth in intellection: its birth as a poem requires overt concentration and the organizing force of reason by the poet. The philosopher's word is more purely logical, less purely intuitional than the poet's. The prophet reasons only insofar as the urgency of his mantic deliverance allows; the philosopher reasons closely on reflex universals; the poet reasons obliquely on sensitive particulars.

Mention should be made too of the difference between the words of poet and of scientist. Because of the connotational value of the deliberately ambiguous word, poetry can say two or more things at the same time, can strike home on several levels. Science specifies. By careful choice of denotative words, words of one dimension which exclude possibility of misinterpretation, science achieves communication. Its words are unambiguous; their meanings uni-

vocal. Poetry on the other hand deliberately chooses words of varied connotation; by refusing to specify, it achieves something larger than communication—communion. In communion there is invariably a large measure of mystery. The poet's word then is too personal and too rational to be that of the prophet, too sensitive and too intuitional to be that of the philosopher, too ambiguous and too multi-dimensional to be that of the scientist. The poet's word is uniquely his own.

The word of the priest is akin to that of prophet and philosopher and poet. Like the prophet he is a father to his people. Like the philosopher he teaches. Like the poet he heals. The analogues are arbitrarily chosen, it is true, since it would be equally valid to say that, like the prophet he heals, or like the poet he teaches, or like the philosopher he is father to his thinking children. The point is only that the priest is related to the others; he must to some extent be prophet and poet if he is to be a true priest. The priest's word consecrates and liberates. Only the priest can breathe words upon bread and wine and transubstantiate them to the body and blood of Christ. Only the priest can say to a sinner "I absolve you" and know he is truly absolved. Like the prophet, the priest deals with God and with a frighteningly real world; like the poet and in a far more compelling sense, he frees that world and makes it new. For the priest is the medium of God; God acts in him far more evidently than he did through any of the ancient prophets; God speaking through the priest does not tell of the future, he creates the present. This is my body. This is my blood. I absolve you. With such a gift, with such alarming proximity to the begotten Word, the priest is equipped and obliged to speak of it with far more eloquence than the poet, to bring alive in his even-Christian the Christ waiting to be born there.

Reality for poet and priest

All of this brings us to the operational areas of poet and priest: the real. The symbol of the vine and the branches is too often cavalierly dealt with: we are in Christ as the branches of a vine belong to the main stem and, though the main stem may grow straight up, it is rooted in earth. Christ is rooted in flesh. He took on the body of a man, hypostatically united to his divinity, and that same body of human flesh and blood sits now at the right hand

of the Father: our pledge surely of the salvation of mere flesh. Christ is man and will have us share in his divinity. And so flesh is good, drenched in his blood and redeemed by it, part of the real world where poet and priest operate. For too long poet and priest have been divorced from, or at any rate too little caught up in, the mysteries of the goodness and the evil of flesh.

I shall illustrate what I mean. The *Columbia Spectator* recently reported on a poetry reading by the Beat poet Allen Ginsberg, given at Columbia University before a mixed audience of several hundred. Author of *Howl, Gasoline, Kaddish*, author and star of the Beat movie *Pull My Daisy*, Ginsberg began his reading "sitting on a yellow prayer mat, removing his shoes, and singing 'Hari Krishna' —a song brought back from India. . . . Ginsberg sang: 'Peter Orlovsky will you come out and help me sing to these poor people? Are you in the bathroom?' A man with shoulder-length blond hair and a drooping pocketbook (Orlovsky) appeared briefly and surveyed the audience. Ginsberg read from 'The Change' . . . a poem that cannot be completely understood at first hearing, but which is nevertheless very moving and pornographic, in that it produces strong physical sensations of nausea, heat & desire. Ginsberg's subject is primarily his own body, and its contact with other bodies, and as he read 'The Change' he pointed to that section of himself which he happened to be discussing at the time. Peter Orlovsky, who read later, began by taking off all his clothes except for a black pair of bikini underpants. . . . Orlovsky read from a poem published in a New York literary magazine. The poem is built up, extremely cleverly, on love notes typed on a bedside typewriter between Orlovsky and Allen Ginsberg."

The immediate reaction of priest or poet is revulsion. In this doleful little performance one sees the lamentable fall of poetry from its high estate mirroring perfectly the decline—indeed, the landslide—of contemporary moral values. Ginsberg and his crowd have sublet the province of the soul in return for 'kicks'; they have exchanged poetry and its concomitant discipline for exhibitionism-cum-license. But they have recognized a truth kept secret for some time now. Poetry does have something to do with life and with living; we may find it hard to accept Beat notions of poetry and *a fortiori* their more distressing notions of life, yet the fundamental

truth remains true no matter who speaks it—if poetry is not quickened by the human voice speaking of an encounter with the real, then it is nothing. We protest perhaps that the experience of Ginsberg can scarcely be considered an encounter with the real; or if it is the real, it is a reality so distorted by the subjective and the untruthful and the induced schizophrenia of the loveless that it is undeserving of the name of truth. Ginsberg has mistaken activity for art and bravado for performance. He is a hollow man, one more to be censured than pitied. His exhibition at Columbia, however, does have the merit of shocking us into awareness that poetry deals with life and the living, and that only the life lived honestly has value—whether for poet or for priest.

The truth of poetry

As the function of poetry is to speak truth, so the poem itself is significant in proportion to the completeness of its conformity with the original experience and the profundity of that experience which has become the poem. This is the identity of word and experience at which the poet constantly aims; how and why he does so we shall consider later. This identity of word and experience must be the priest's as well; on a different and far more exalted plane, he must speak the word of Christ. He must experience Christ profoundly, become him insofar as this is possible in our limited condition, and express him not only in consecrating and absolving but in every word that passes his lips, in what he *is*. He must as flesh speak the word of Christ to flesh; it must be a living word spoken to a living people in terms they can understand, in tones they can recognize as love. He must, ultimately, be able to touch a Ginsberg as well as an Eliot; Christ did not come only to the well-washed. If the function of poetry is to speak truth, the function of the priesthood is to speak Truth. If the poet must become his poem to surrender it, so the priest must become Christ to give him up to a largely Godless mankind.

It is possible for a poet to become a priest. Whether he can continue to function as a poet is quite another question, one which must be answered on the operational level: what poetry does, what the priest does, and why.

In his superb essay "Priest and Poet" Karl Rahner speaks as knowledgeably of the poet's word as he does of the Word of God,

saying that "the finite and the formed, the proportioned and the enclosed, proclaim as such, precisely through their good finiteness, the infinity of God"; it is the poet's work to free these finite things. Rahner presents in just a few sentences the whole purpose and craft of poetry.

Poetry frees things. Poetry tells the truth. It is small wonder that every poem in some sense is an attempt to recreate the universe, to repeat that creating action of God by which all things have come to be.

Poetry frees things. The word of the poet is that which sets things free, finite and proportioned things, formed and enclosed things, free in such a way that their infinity shines through them. A poem must do this to justify itself: set free an experience which is too complex to be contained in the purely denotative symbols of science. The correct words liberate one another so that fish is no longer merely fish; it is "my God, fish!" But without the necessity of an exclamation point. Wisdom, and hence truth, rarely uses exclamation points. If "fish" needs liberation, *a fortiori* an experience of love or hate or wonder. And how express a combination of love and hate together? With the true word. Poets rarely stumble into true words. For a poet, complete fidelity to and complete honesty with words is the *only* way to achieve a poem; not prayer and fasting, not the drugged exploration of the unconscious, only fidelity and honesty to words will do. Fidelity and honesty comprehend a good bit: years and years of practice with words, courage to destroy something beautiful because it does not fit this particular poem, the humility to remain quiet when you have nothing to say. But out of this verbal discipline grows the ability to free things by revealing them in the light of forever.

Poetry tells the truth. The quickest most effective way for a poet to destroy himself is to sell his birthright for a pot of message. The poem that inculcates virtue, that wrings a lesson out of rhymed piosities, has ceased to be a poem. It is a visual aid. Poetry tells the truth the way all real art tells the truth, by presenting what *is*. Unfortunately the truth is not always pleasant; men steal and fornicate and do not love—that is unpleasant. Poetry which says such unpleasant things can be far more true, however, and in that sense far more beautiful than a poem which is doctrinally flawless but without a soul.

Christ as priest-poet

It takes no effort of the imagination to see the relevance of what I have been saying about poets and poetry to the larger problem of the priest and the Word of God. Rahner looks forward with the kerygmatic longing for the parousia to the time when the priest-poet shall reign triumphant in this post-Christian world. I cannot imagine such a day.

Christ is of course the archetype of priest-poet. Himself the Word of God, he is the perfect symbol of God and speaks the word not only of creation but of salvation. The priest forever repeats in his own imperfect fashion the perfect actions of the Word of God. Precisely by his anointing as priest, the priest creates and saves, repeats the primitive encounter with God by administering the sacraments.

I should like for the sake of concrete example to revert to the poet for a moment. A poem cannot come into existence except through a poet who, by his special charism, is in this one respect at least a rather special individual; but more than a poet is required, namely, a poet with a degree of accomplishment in his craft—one who has long practiced fidelity to the word. Without craftsmanship (which operates *ex opere operato* whether the poet is churning out a real poem or merely something falsely dressed up as a poem), the poem can never be realized at all. The point is obvious: only a priest can confer most of the sacraments; only a priest can celebrate the Eucharist, the sacrament of our closest personal encounter with Christ. Someone special is required, someone with the sacred charism.

Back to the poet. With craftsmanship, the poem may or may not be realized depending on a genius tempered with words. The greatness of the poem depends finally on (1) the profundity of the experience the poet is liberating and (2) the degree to which he himself has grasped the experience—not *qua* experience but *qua* word: the word of the poem, the word which *is* the poem. Again the application is obvious, at least once a small distinction has been made. We are dealing with an entirely different order of existence now, one in which it is true that Christ uses even the weakest instruments, that the efficacy of the sacrament does not depend upon the sanctity of the minister, that a truth is still true

even if it is spoken by a liar. But, and Rahner also points this out, it makes a considerable difference to the good of the Church whom he represents if the priest acts out of love or out of indifference. The Church stands always behind him; "always he stands and acts in its sphere of existence." The priest *should* express the word of God with his Christian existence because the Church *must* do it. Insofar as the priest has practiced fidelity to and honesty with the Word and insofar as he has absorbed the overwhelming impact of encounter with the Word will he be successful in communicating the fullness of the Christian experience. The priest must explore depths before he can reveal them.

A priest-poet today?

Rahner awaits the coming of the priest-poet. I do not think we shall see him, although it may be he has been among us in every priest who was also a saint and because those men walk tall we failed to notice him. Casual perfection is an evanescent thing; it rarely surrenders itself to empirical analysis.

For the priest-poet to be realized, there must be some point of intersection between the charisms of priest, of poet. That point of intersection is as necessary as it is unlikely. The poet is rarely if ever called to the priesthood. He tends to be egocentric, morbidly self-concerned, with a dedication to words and writing which precludes the larger dedication to any cause. It sometimes seems to me that the psychic force of a poet flows not only on a different plane altogether but indeed flows in the opposite direction; the psychic force of a priest must bend upwards, of a poet inward. How does a poet-priest reconcile these urgent drives without becoming in his conduct at least a benign schizophrenic? And how does the poet who is priest castigate a world gone mad with self-indulgence, for that of course is the ancient office of poets—to flay the hide of illusion from the complacently mediocre? The priest must love that world gone mad, he must cure it with the care of Christ. Finally there is the contemporary mode of writing. The most viable, perhaps the only viable, poetic focus today is irony. We are still trapped in the half-light of Cartesian dualism; the extermination camps of the Second World War have robbed us forever of at least the first half of the concept of man as noble

savage; existentialism and absurdism of the present moment have exposed the meaninglessness of a loveless generation. Confronted by the mass rape of the American Negro and the cultured inanity of the diamond and liquor advertisements of the *New Yorker*, we realize the hopeless inefficacy of indignation or amusement; only the two-edged knife of irony can cut the conscious mind. It is true that the ironic stance is something more than a disembarrassing gesture. It is a confession of concern under the mask of humor, a symptom that all the heart's children are not yet comfortably tucked abed. But the mocking tones of irony are not suited to the priest's voice of love. I do not see how one man can be a significant poet and at the same time a dedicated priest.

I should imagine that when a genuine poet becomes a priest, he ceases to function as a poet. For one thing he would have less personal need for poetry; creating and making new with Christ can, I imagine, easily supplant the agony and dissatisfaction of those isolate hours with the smoking lamp and the bitten pencil. I should imagine also that when a priest becomes a poet (an unlikely event), he functions only minimally as a priest. And this for the two reasons I have earlier adduced: (1) the poet sees everything in relation to himself and as a priest he cannot do this, and (2) the emotional strain and the ironic voice of a contemporary work of art drive the poet in any direction but prayer, and prayer must be the priest's daily bread.

But these reasons do not go to the heart of the matter; undoubtedly the real cause of the rarity of priest-poet is something much deeper, much less definable. It is perhaps that having discovered Christ at a profound level, the poet-priest has no need to free things and to tell the truth about them. It is enough for him to contemplate what he sees; his poetry is love. And then, of course, the rest is silence.

CONFERENCE ON ECUMENISM IN THE SOCIETY OF JESUS

Augustin Cardinal Bea, S.J.

You know that the fathers of our Society, especially St. Peter Canisius, at the conclusion of the Council of Trent, actively promulgated the decrees of that Council in various lands. Today, with the close of the Second Vatican Council, we are clearly not concerned with the formal promulgation of its decrees; rather there is a great urgency that we strive to make such far-reaching and profound decrees known, understood, and that we help to put them gradually into practice. In a special way, this ought to concern the life and work of priests, through whom the mystery of Christ in the Church is especially realized, lest the Church be found to have received the grace of God to no avail (2 Cor. 6:1). It is quite clear that, in this matter, our Society has a special task not only because of her closer relationship with the Church and the Roman Pontiff, which is a sacred inheritance handed down to us by our holy founder and by our predecessors, but also because of the reputation and influence which, by the grace of God, the Society has in the Church. It is certain that many of the clergy and the laity, almost everywhere on earth, look to the sons of the Society, and draw their inspiration from our way of thinking and acting. Our Society, with the favoring grace of God, can contribute powerfully to this post-

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conciliar action, and for the love of God, for Christ and for the Church, our Society ought to be in the front ranks.

These considerations are especially relevant to *the ecumenical apostolate.* There is even greater urgency here because we are concerned with a task that is rather difficult and rather new, in which the example of leadership in word and deed is particularly influential. And so I am thankful to Very Reverend Father General for the invitation which gives me the occasion not indeed of participating in the General Congregation, for in my present status I have neither active nor passive voice, but rather of permitting me to fulfill as far as I can what the Church has entrusted to me, the promotion of Christian unity.

What therefore do we intend in this meeting of ours today? I have not come to exert any influence in the affairs of this legislative session of the Society. I know that you have already prepared a specific decree on ecumenism to be promoted in the Society, that you have subjected it to examination and have approved it. Very Reverend Father General knows that I purposely put off this meeting to a time following your discussion of this matter. It should also be clear that I do not intend to explain those principles of ecumenism which the Second Vatican Council set forth. You have presupposed a knowledge of these principles in your own discussions of this matter. Rather we shall strive to understand these principles more profoundly in the light both of theology and of the work of the Church, and then to apply them concretely to the life and the apostolic work of the Society. I consider the work of the Society in this area to be of great significance for the Church. The difficulties involved in ecumenical work often show lack of foresight, as often happens in other areas of human endeavor. Some people would begin imprudently by concentrating on the external aspects of the problem, by promoting dialogues, prayers, the reading of Sacred Scripture with our non-Catholic brothers, translating and publishing non-Catholic literature, and similar innovations. It is quite necessary that the Society not only outdistance others in prudence but also emphasize the knowledge and use of internal and supernatural channels, "from which must flow all outward effectiveness in the goal set before us."[1]

[1] Cf. *Constitutiones et Regulae Societatis Iesu,* Part X, 2.

Questions and answers

Let us begin by asking ourselves how, in what ways, down which roads the march of Christian unity should be directed. The answer to these questions will give us the best clues for bringing about this unity.

1. The first answer to our question lies *in the ecumenical movements of these last few years.* We can say of the Second Vatican Council what St. Luke says of Christ our Lord: "He began to act and to teach" (Acts 1:1). Before it set forth the principles of ecumenism, the Second Vatican Council demonstrated by clear example over a long period of time how we ought to act toward our non-Christian brothers, and how we ought *to live that unity* which already exists between us. Not to mention other issues, we should recall that significant participation which the delegated observers had in the deliberations of the Council. They attended the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass daily with the Council Fathers; they studied the same documents without exception; they also met with the Council Fathers outside of the Council Chamber and discussed the problems of the Council and many other questions. In this way the observers acquired a direct knowledge of the life and doctrine of the Church, and in turn transmitted it to their own churches. The Council Fathers likewise experienced with a deep awareness the problem of the division of Christians and began to understand more accurately the numerous churches and communities. In the past, some of the Fathers had known little of these churches and communities, and indeed some had known nothing whatever of them. Finally, among the Council Fathers and the observers, and through them among their churches, closer bonds developed. These bonds seem destined to last beyond the time of the Council, and to be further deepened with the passage of time. Great results of this presence and participation can be seen even now in the churches, but the full fruit will appear and be appreciated only after several decades.

Principles for action

2. The Council taught by clear example over a long period of time how we ought to conduct ourselves towards our non-Catholic Christian brothers and how we ought to deal with them. The

Council also lucidly presented *theoretical principles* for our action.

a) First the Council solemnly enunciated a course of action which looks to the whole Church: "Concern for restoring unity pertains to the whole Church, faithful and clergy alike. It extends to everyone, according to the potential of each, whether it be exercised in daily Christian living or in theological and historical studies."[2] This principle is extremely important and cannot be overemphasized. Its profound justification, according to the Council's *Constitution on the Church*, lies in the fact that *the whole people of God*, which is the Church, "is used by Christ as *an instrument for the redemption* of all, and is sent forth into the whole world as the light of the world and the salt of the earth" (Mt. 5:13–16).[3]

b) The *means* by which this grave responsibility of all members of the Church is to be fulfilled, is not primarily and principally this or that action alone, sermons, dialogue, intercooperation, and the like. It is *the whole Christian life*, as has been mentioned in the text cited above. Specifically we should know and *live in practice* with our separated brothers *that unity which already exists between us.* As an explanation of that unity the Council sets forth the effect of the holy sacrament of baptism, by which non-Catholic Christians are also organically united with Christ. Through baptism they become adopted sons of God and our brothers in Christ, and "they are brought into a certain, though imperfect, communion with the Catholic Church" (*UR*, No. 3). The values which are to be found among these brothers of ours must be recognized: "the written word of God; the life of grace; faith, hope and charity, along with other interior gifts of the Holy Spirit and visible elements" (*UR*, No. 3). Moreover "the brethren divided from us also carry out many of the sacred actions of the Christian religion. Undoubtedly, in ways that vary according to the condition of each Church or Community, these actions can truly engender a life of grace, and can be rightly described as capable of providing access to the community of salvation" (*UR*, No. 3). Therefore "these separated Churches and

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[2] *Decree on Ecumenism* (*Unitatis Redintegratio*), No. 5. Hereafter cited as *UR.*

[3] *Dogmatic Constitution on the Church* (*Lumen Gentium*), No. 9.

Communities, though we believe they suffer from defects already mentioned, have by no means been deprived of significance and importance in the mystery of salvation. For the Spirit of Christ has not refrained from using them as means of salvation which derive their efficacy from the very fullness of grace and truth entrusted to the Catholic Church" (*UR*, No. 3).

This teaching has been solemnly recognized by the supreme authority of the Church and must also be accepted by us with the fullness of faith. Such knowledge and esteem for our non-Catholic brothers, which proceeds from our own faith, must be emphasized and spread among the faithful entrusted to us before, and more than, any specific knowledge of individual churches. This specific knowledge, especially of churches with whom we live each day, is certainly necessary; but that knowledge which proceeds from faith is more fundamental and is even more necessary for all and for rapport with all. Such knowledge gives a solid foundation to our relations with our separated brothers, and ought to move us to respect them sincerely in Christ, to reverence, to love, to help them and to cooperate with them in various areas according to the decrees of the Council. In this way the separation which exists between us and our separated brothers can gradually be overcome. We know from history that there was a certain long process of mutual alienation, through ignorance, prejudice, antipathy, and so forth, that preceded the formal separation both of the Oriental Church in the 11th century, and the separation in the West in the time known as the Reformation. Those formal separations only constituted final acts of another process which had lasted through centuries and had steadily deteriorated. Today the Church intends to initiate and promote the opposite process: those who have become brothers through baptism should recognize one another in Christ, they should respect one another, they should love in truth and in action, even though among them for a time full unity be lacking.

Since the Council, as we have seen, imposes the concern for restoring unity on *all* the faithful, there is also a certain general mobilisation of all Christians for the gradual preparation of unity in a concrete way. You know that this pursuit of unity in Christ already exists, to be lived and manifested, in relation to the separated

Oriental Churches. In spite of the partial separation and even with the denial of certain dogmas such as the primacy of the Roman Pontiff, the search for Christian unity has progressed to the point that the Council has permitted that the sacrament of Penance, the Eucharist, and Extreme Unction be administered to the Orthodox who seek the sacraments in good faith. Since these churches have the true priesthood and the true sacraments, Catholics are allowed to seek the sacraments from their priests, when a Catholic priest is lacking or where it is extremely difficult to get to a Catholic priest.

c) We are striving to live the unity which already exists between us and our Christian non-Catholic brothers. This ecumenical practice is already *bearing outstanding results at this moment*, even though there are no conversions of individuals, and before the final goal of perfect union is attained. *Insofar as it touches our non-Catholic brothers,* we effectively help them to live what they have received from their predecessors, and which they believe in good faith. They lack many means of grace which are to be found in the Catholic Church alone. Nevertheless, with the help of what they do have by the merciful gift of God, they can live in and through Christ, which is the end both of the redemption of Christ and of the preaching and work of the Church, as well as the *raison d'être* of the apostolate of the Society. We know that the best way of knowing the will of God is actually to follow the will of God in those areas where we are sure of his will. Moreover this is a better way both for these brothers to find the way to the fullness of unity in the one Church of Christ, and so that perfect unity itself might gradually be realized.

At the same time this ecumenical practice brings *enormous advantages to us Catholics ourselves.* We must proceed prudently and with moderation here. The situation is not to be falsely conceived as if through this spiritual "exchange" with our non-Catholic brothers, the Catholic Church would first discover some truth which she did not yet possess in the sacred deposit entrusted to her by Christ the Lord. On the other hand, the Catholic Church herself, by the exercise of this exchange, can more clearly and more distinctly understand and set forth truths already possessed by her. This has often happened in the Councils, when in the Church disagreements arose concerning this or that truth of the faith. The

Council's *Decree on Ecumenism* does not hesitate to assert that, because of the separation, "the Church herself finds it more difficult to express in actual life her full catholicity in all its aspects" (*UR*, No. 4).

Other results of ecumenical action look to *individual members* of the Catholic Church. It is unfortunate that Catholics themselves often do not live that fullness of truth and grace offered them by the Church, "as a result the radiance of the Church's face shines less brightly in the eyes of our separated brothers and in the eyes of the world at large, and the growth of God's kingdom is retarded" (*UR*, No. 4). A desire for unity should effectively stimulate the faithful to live the vocation to which they are called *with greater fidelity*. They should *tend toward sanctity* (*UR*, No. 4). Therefore the Council solemnly admonishes: "There can be no ecumenism worthy of the name without a change of heart. For it is from newness of attitudes, from self-denial and unstinted love, the yearnings for unity take their rise and grow toward maturity." The Council deduces in practice: "We should therefore pray to the divine Spirit for the grace to be genuinely self-denying, humble, gentle in the service of others, and to have an attitude of brotherly generosity toward them" (*UR*, No. 7). You see, Reverend Fathers, that ecumenism, if rightly understood, is an exceptional instrument of our apostolate and an outstanding means of pastoral action.

The need for prudence

3. Let us immediately specify that in living and manifesting that unity which already exists between us and our non-Catholic brothers, *certain due limits must be observed.*

a) Never should it be forgotten that those brothers, either as individuals or as communities, minimally enjoy that unity "which Jesus Christ wished to bestow on all those whom He has regenerated and vivified into one body and newness of life, that unity which the Holy Scriptures and the revered tradition of the Church proclaim. For it is through Christ's Catholic Church alone, which is the all-embracing means of salvation, that the fullness of the means of salvation can be obtained" (*UR*, No. 3). It would be wrong to reject all communion with these brothers, for they are truly our brothers in Christ and we have many things in common with them.

But it would be wrong also to forget those areas where they suffer defects in unity, doctrine and government.

b) These same defects constitute a difficulty for ecumenical action, and they clearly *impose limits* and *demand great prudence.* So easily, for example, someone might think that, for the good of unity, some sacrifice must be accepted, some compromise related to doctrinal divergencies must be admitted, or at least those differences should be passed over in silence. The *Decree on Ecumenism* gravely admonishes: "It is, of course, essential that doctrine be clearly presented in its entirety. Nothing is so foreign to the spirit of ecumenism as a false conciliatory approach which harms the purity of Catholic doctrine and obscures its assured genuine meaning" (*UR*, No. 11). This sincere exposition of doctrine clearly must be made "in ways and terminology which our separated brethren too can clearly understand" (*UR*, No. 11), not polemically, but rather we must proceed, preserving the love of truth, "with charity and humility." Although sometimes one must also mention differences, it is not necessary that one always begin specifically with these differences.

Another danger to be prudently avoided in ecumenical action is rash, unprepared involvement in initiating dialogue. Such dialogue would not profit others and would make a mockery of such action. It could perhaps even shake the faith of the unprepared one who initiated it. This also could be said for example of those who with insufficient prudence translate the books of non-Catholics or strive to make them known, or without sufficient preparation institute prayers or the reading of Sacred Scripture in common with non-Catholic Christians. Therefore the Council generally admonishes: "This most Sacred Synod urges the faithful to abstain from any superficiality or imprudent zeal, for these can cause harm to true progress towards unity" (*UR*, No. 24).

These few remarks on the difficulty of ecumenical action should suffice. Let us note that a better method for avoiding dangers and using prudent zeal is dependence on those whom the Holy Spirit has appointed to rule the Church of God (Acts 20:28). This dependence clearly is not exacted solely to avoid dangers. Ecumenical action is an essential part of the pastoral labor of the Church and therefore is subordinate to the authority of the holy

pastors. Since ecumenical action is dependent on the will of the hierarchy, only in this way can it respond to the will of God and of Christ and therefore be fruitful and efficacious. It is unnecessary to explain here, in the area of prudence and dependence on the authority of the Church, that our Society according to her proper spirit, ought to give outstanding example in the Church.

4. Have we touched upon all the elements by which the progress of unity can be effected? Obviously not. One thing remains, a principal area, *union with Christ* and with his Divine Spirit, the spirit of unity. The *Decree on Ecumenism* solemnly and profoundly teaches that the most Holy Trinity is the source of our unity: "This is the sacred mystery of the unity of the Church, in Christ and through Christ, with the Holy Spirit energizing a variety of functions. The *highest exemplar* and *source* of this mystery is the unity, in the Trinity of Persons, of one God, the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit" (*UR*, No. 2). From this doctrine the Council itself deduces this *practical conclusion* in the form of an exhortation: "Let all Christ's faithful remember that the more purely they strive to live according to the gospel, the more they are fostering and even practicing Christian unity. For they can achieve depth and ease in strengthening mutual brotherhood to the degree that they enjoy profound communion with the Father, the Word, and the Spirit" (*UR*, No. 7). I do not think this doctrine of the Council needs explanation. We are concerned with nothing else than the application to our apostolate of the doctrine of the Redemption and of our total dependence on divine grace. Rather, it seems that a certain *serious consequence* must be stressed, which is derived from this: the great importance in the promotion of Christian unity of the *truly Christian life of all the members of the Church*, their desire for uniting themselves to Christ, and obtaining true Christian sanctity.

Never, Reverend Fathers, will we sufficiently inculcate in the faithful entrusted to us, how much they are able to do in this way towards the promotion of Christian unity, and how much they ought to do through their love for Christ, the Church, and mankind. Just as members of the body of Christ are an instrument which the Lord uses for effecting the redemption of the human race, so

also even more are the faithful a specific instrument which he uses to promote and to perfect the unity of those who believe in him.

Jesuit spirit

5. This discussion of ours should make it clear how much the ecumenical apostolate *is connected with that concept of the apostolate* which is in our *Constitutions* as an application of Catholic doctrine itself. Clearly the Church, through the Council, is not so much demanding new things from us, but rather new applications of our apostolate and a rather new way of conceiving what our predecessors have done and what we ourselves are doing. We are concerned with a certain more complete method of considering in Christ, our non-Catholic brothers, a method of working for their good and of dealing with them.

Because we are concerned with a method which is rather new, it is clearly necessary that the sons of the Society *gradually acquire this frame of mind* and learn to use this method. It may be proper, therefore, to add something on the process of teaching Jesuits the correct concept and exercise of the ecumenical apostolate.

a) Clearly it is of great importance here that from *the novitiate* the scholastics as well as the brothers be profoundly imbued with the ecumenical spirit according to what we have just said. Let them gradually learn what has happened in this area in the Church, that they might know and help these undertakings by their prayers and by their holy desires and sacrifices. If superiors and masters of novices think it helpful and they consider the situation carefully, they should even arrange some contacts with non-Catholic Christians.

b) This formation, specifically during the time of the novitiate, should be further pursued in the time of studies. *The study of theology* is especially important for the scholastics. I am not so much thinking here of new courses to be added in class, but rather of *a spirit* with which the whole theological formulation ought to be imbued. The *Decree on Ecumenism* asks that: "Instruction in sacred theology and other branches of knowledge, especially those of a historical nature, must also be presented from an ecumenical point of view, so that at every point they may more accurately

correspond with the facts of the case" (*UR*, No. 10). The Decree adds this reason for this position, which is also its explanation: "For it is highly important that future bishops and priests should have mastered a theology carefully worked out in this way and not polemically, especially on what concerns the relations of our separated brothers with the Catholic Church" (*UR*, No. 10). The study of theology, pursued in this manner, is patiently anxious to clarify even today's opinions not as the opinions of "adversaries" but as the opinions of our brothers in Christ. Doubtless such a study of theology emphasizes a true knowledge of these brothers. It prepares our priests, without the burden of many special courses, to be able to deal with these brothers with the best knowledge of the situation according to truth and charity. The Decree immediately adds that it is "upon the formation which priests receive that the necessary instruction and spiritual formation of the faithful and of religious depend so very greatly" (*UR*, No. 10). The study of theology made in this manner will bring much to the furthering of the ecumenical movement, and this should be a great consolation and a stimulus to those who discharge the office of teaching.

c) There is no reason why I should follow out the applications of this doctrine to the apostolate of the Society. I know that you have already done excellently in this regard, and I do not think it is my responsibility to urge you further. This one recommendation I would like to make: *we are not so much concerned with the multiplication of new undertakings* but rather that the apostolate of the Society, specifically preaching, publications, and education, be imbued with this new spirit for that general "mobilization" which the Church has begun with the *Decree on Ecumenism*. We must move it forward day by day and we must make it effective. Otherwise, if anyone should have any doubts and questions in this area, he should propose them right now.

[Pause for questions from the audience]

I conclude: sometimes, because of the many difficulties of ecumenism, a question is asked. In the face of such great division of Christianity (for example, at the World Council in Geneva there are more than two hundred churches or ecclesial communities),

what gleam of hope is there of actually effecting unity, especially after so many centuries of division and separated lives?

Let us first *respond* with another question. When the Lord sent forth the apostles to preach the Gospel, was the state of affairs any better, or in a human way of speaking, any more hopeful? The apostles, nevertheless, with great courage and with great faith in Christ began to preach, with the greatest results. In the same way we ought to effect the beginnings of unity, and all the more because the Lord in these last few years has performed moral miracles towards the promotion of the ecumenical movement. It is our responsibility to promote that same movement by prayer, sacrifice, and by our apostolate, and not to wish "to know times or seasons which the Father has fixed by His own authority" (Acts 1:7). By the very fact that "we walk by faith, not by sight," (2 Cor. 5:7) and because "we hope for what we do not see, we wait for it with patience" (Rom. 8:25), our work is not less but more meritorious, and even more efficacious, although sometimes we must believe "in hope against hope" (Rom. 4:18) "And hope does not disappoint us, because God's love has been poured into our hearts through the Holy Spirit which has been given to us" (Rom. 5:5). These are the final words of the *Decree on Ecumenism*; they are to a certain extent the final reason for the Christian life; they are equally the final reason for ecumenism.

SPIRITUAL DEVELOPMENT DURING THEOLOGY

a realistic appraisal

JOHN G. MILHAVEN, S.J.

IT SEEMS TO ME there are at least three facts that bear characteristically on the spiritual development of the theologian. First of all, he is, inasmuch as anybody is, a man physically and psychologically. This is obvious to one who has taught in a philosophate and theologate, has known the same person as a philosopher and theologian. The theologian is heavier. In part, the cause is simply age. At the present, our theologians are twenty-six and up. A more profound cause is that most of our theologians have had the achievement, freedom, and recognition that goes with regency. By living and acting, they have answered for themselves questions that the philosopher asks. They have passed a point of no return.

Secondly, the theologian, critical and solidly entrenched, is drawing near to the priesthood, or is exercising the first year of it. Far more than in the past, these years press on him as the narrowing circles drawing him into becoming a priest forever. He tends to question and tries to assay all that happens in the light of the center to which he is moving.

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The first and second facts interpenetrate. The theologian moves towards the priesthood as a man and not just as a "young man." He moves to the priesthood as one who needs a woman and children, a family, in a way the philosopher, unsure of himself and looking for his first "Thou," did not dream of. Moreover, he knows he has the ability to create and live in such a family. He moves to the priesthood as one who has the need and ability to take responsibility, i.e., to take risks in order to create and produce, to be responsible for what he brings about. When he was younger this was a need in order to get going. Now it is a need in order to stay alive; he cannot live without responsibility and consequences in his hand. Similarly, he has the need and ability to build, to bring into existence something that stands and holds, no matter what pain, patience, or planning it requires. With all this, he knows he can lose. He has learned how the inertia of others can block his work. And so he has a living cynicism, criticism, and cruelty. What I have just described is often, perhaps always, as it is with most men, what he does not have enough of, but now sees clearly and wants lustily.

Thirdly, he is a man of the last third of the 20th century, and, therefore, action and life come first, and all prayer, studies, intellectual reflection, talk, and social structures, have to arise out of living and acting, and return immediately to them. This is why much that is to be recommended for the spiritual development of the theologian lies outside the usual area of spirituality.

These three facts combine, interwine, and lead in a unified way, it seems to me, to some practical conclusions. First of all, in general:

1. The theologians want to and should grow peacefully in the realistic, questioning, never-fully-at-rest-faith, that is the only faith an educated adult today can have in Jesus Christ and is the only faith a priest can, in honesty, labor to communicate with his brothers, his people.

2. The theologian wants to and should grow in the believing appreciation of how God's word gives life to people here and now in all the varied situations that exist. Today, I submit, this is the only way he can work back to the appreciation and reverent love of God.

3. Now bringing the shoulders of a man and illumined by God's word, the theologian wants to and should grow in living his love for the people he can meet. This means tough, heavy, daily, and demanding work. His prayer will be mostly a distilling of this life of love; his studies an intellectual attempt to understand and plan it.

4. Because he is a man of our times, he cannot be helped much by laws, rules, direction, and communal structures, but yet needs very much the help of others just to live his life. What he needs is not authority or structures, but a living community life, friendship, encouragement, criticism, at-homeness, that is through and through a life of faith in Christ, leading to the apostolic communication of that faith.

Recommendations

Secondly, the above general conclusions, based on the theologian's manhood, growing priesthood, and contemporary pragmatism, lead to some particular recommendations:

1. For the spiritual development of the young man, as well as for his future work, the theology courses should bear directly on questions of contemporary living and provide insights that can enrich that living. This depends on what the professor chooses to say concerning questions such as the otherness of God, the pervasiveness of sin, the meaning of salvation, the uniqueness of Christian love, the "experience" of Christian faith, the efficacy of the sacraments (e.g., the value of frequency of reception), the humanness of the Church, etc. Not all teaching in the theologate can or should be directly translatable into Christian living, but the teaching on the whole should. This should determine both the choice of relevant questions and the aspects the professor has the faith, courage, and love to take up. (See *Documents of the 31st General Congregation*, Nos. 9, 23.)

2. There should be a meaningful liturgy, where the adulthood, individuality, and spontaneity of the worshippers have play. This may mean a great deal of small group liturgies. Granted the present compromised state of liturgy regulations, this will surely mean a liberal application of *epikeia*, higher laws, *gravia incommoda*, etc. Superiors should recognize the far greater good

that positive law can hinder here and should exercise leadership.

3. Freedom in prayer and forms of prayer must be encouraged. The *collatio* can be most helpful, but experience has shown that it needs the right circumstances and preparation. Here, as in so many of these practical questions, the breaking down of the theologate community into small groups (perhaps twenty or so) is called for. (See *Documents of the 31st General Congregation*, Nos. 9, 32.) On the other hand, the theologian must find his own individual way to stand daily in awe and fear and love before God, *solus cum solo*. This is so difficult for religious men today, that the greatest freedom in seeking ways should be granted, while superiors and retreat masters must remind him often how indispensable this is to his life. Precisely because personal prayer for a man of today can arise only out of Christian living and acting, there is a great danger, before the pull of action, to let the prayer, the conscious turning to God, fade away. In this respect, the fathers and brothers of the community, inasmuch as they stand out as men of God's presence, can be a powerful aid to the theologian.

4. Since the prayer and spirituality of the Jesuit today is so much a reflection and distillation of his acting and living, it is indispensable that during theology a student have constant encounters with and experience of the world going on outside the seminary: this cliché must take concrete form in his dealing with non-Catholics, women, lay scholars of his specialty, Catholic families, people in need, etc. This is usually the best way for him to find God in all things, to be able to withdraw for the prayer mentioned above. For the same reason, he should be consistently given opportunities for being responsible for others with Christ's light and love, e.g., teaching, caring for the mentally retarded, working in the inner city, helping out in reform schools, and discussing the intellectual problems of laymen. As we said above, there should be a fruitful interaction between the theology he studies and these experiences and responsible activities. In his life as a whole, God's word and love is central, and continually demands the living of it and the reflection on it through studies, prayers, and discussion.

5. The community life, in particular, the presence of and contact with the fathers and brothers, can contribute mightily to the spiritual

development of the theologians (and of the fathers and brothers). Intermingling at meals, haustus, and recreation provides many "spiritual conversations" and the kind of exchange of experience and points of view that help the spiritual life enormously. This is an opportunity for the fathers to give an example of what our Lord taught about humility and fraternal equality, by doing away with all distinctions in community life between the fathers and the rest of the community. Fortunately, the democratic temper of our times, the criticism of class distinctions and the privileges of authority, can encourage and aid such a movement back to simple Christian living. That an older priest insist, because he is a priest, he deserves a more honorable and comfortable way of life can obscure the spirituality of the priesthood of the young man.

6. Similarly, since community structures are being found frequently to be ineffective and are being more and more limited, there is a growing need of the individual for the support and direction of the community as a living whole. For example, a community service council, elected by and from fathers, brothers, and scholastics, can aid, e.g., in providing channels for inter-communication, in promoting prayer and the apostolate, and in criticizing lack of consideration in community life. Here again, though, the small community is indicated as furthering the lived "togetherness" of a few men strengthening and enlightening each other in their lives, e.g., by their common decisions. Along the same lines, the spiritual development of the theologians must include their progressive recognition of and loving patience with the sinfulness and humanness of other members of the community, particularly of superiors and professors. Once more, the small community could be realistic, eyeball-to-eyeball living of this peaceful patience and humble brotherliness that we need badly and that befits us as sinful men who believe in Christ's love for us.

7. Superiors can help the spiritual development of the theologians by making it clear that their (the superiors') reaction to requests is not principally fear of untoward consequences, tempered by resignation to the need of keeping subjects happy. Superiors' attitude should be a confident "yes" for the future, realizing the need for change, not being afraid to make mistakes, being assured that God is not dead. Superiors should realize that they can initiate

action, even before subjects urge the matter. The dynamic vision and leadership of superiors and the consequent outstanding work of the men of the province can be one of the strongest positive influences on the spirituality, just as, at times, the inertia, formalities, happy muddling in the province is the major discouragement to the prayer of the scholastic. To give himself to his spiritual life, the theologian needs the confidence that he belongs to a company of men, who have no special interest in propping up old structures or seeking novelties, but are, in fact, by word and act, saying the word of God right through to the hearts of the various people living in the area, e.g., the socially underprivileged, the politicians, the artists, etc. This may seem a far step from the spiritual life of the scholastic, yet it seems to me to be the most potent factor.

* * *

THE THEOLOGATE: A CRITIQUE

a student's view

Charles J. Donnelly, S.J.

When the Middle Atlantic States comes to Woodstock College during the next academic year to make its evaluation, it will be presented with a variety of reports written by the students and faculty of Woodstock. The following is a phenomenological report concerning some of the factors which seem to contribute to student instability and difficulties. An initial consideration in such a report is the changing definition of the priestly vocation. The average student entered the organization about ten years before coming to Woodstock College. During the past ten years the image of the priest has changed much more than during most other ten-

year periods. Some feel that the Jesuit's image, and therefore his training, should reflect less of an intellectual emphasis, and more of an action-oriented thrust. It is hard for an institution like a college to be sure this is not a fad or an escape, and even when a movement is seen as genuine, an institution cannot change as quickly as an individual does. A college, especially, is naturally slow to modify academic emphases. The inevitable institutional lag, even while progress is being made, leads one to predict a two-dimensional conflict situation which contributes to student instability and difficulties. On the one hand, the individual may feel that he must either break out of the institution, or alter it himself in order to realize his image of the priest. The second alternative is more creative and Woodstock is taking some steps which encourage the students to participate in renewal from within.

On the other hand, since the institution is evolving to meet the new image of the priest, the conflict can work the other way around. A student may not be able to alter the image of the priest he had some years ago when he entered. In this case the institution's progress is experienced as a change which will prevent him from realizing his image of himself as a Jesuit.

In either case, some degree of instability is to be expected as a result of incompatibility between the rate of institutional change and the dynamics of the student's personality. If, as seems to be the case, both types of anxiety are present in the student body, and a relatively small number are being forced to handle it by withdrawal, the college is then in a better position than it would be if just one type were found. The present situation indicates that Woodstock gives sufficient flexibility for both groups to cope with the difficulty rather than forcing one group or the other to adapt completely or leave.

Regency experience

A second factor concerns the recent past of the average student before coming to Woodstock. The fact that the regency experience is interposed between philosophy and theology studies tends to make theology a regressive situation. Regency was generally the first time the Jesuit had any real responsibility, his first adult (teacher, not student) role, his first Jesuit experience in the city and the rich

experiences offered there, and his first opportunity for a normal social life. Theology involves some regression in all of these areas. There is little active and satisfying responsibility; the role expectations are generally the same as during philosophy and quite different from those of the regency (e.g., where faculty were peers they are now, to a degree, segregated and superior). The regency location was a source for a rich variety of experience while the theology location is quiet, rural, and without rich experience. Social life is much more homogeneous, mainly with fellow Jesuits. The progress which made regency valuable is stopped and the behavior which was typical before regency is expected to be reinstated.

Here too, Woodstock is taking steps to respond to the situation. Students are often asked to take part in College and Society decisions, but for most, it is a rather remote part. Many handle this difficulty by taking on some adult responsibilities, developing a social life and seeking rich experiences outside of the College context. This is healthy adaptive behavior and is permitted by Woodstock. However it would be better if more opportunities in these areas could be offered within the College context, for the atmosphere of the College would be significantly enriched. The solution is probably to move Woodstock to a new context where it can integrate more areas of experience into its own life.

The theology situation is oriented toward a reward which is central to the student's life: ordination. However, this reward does not demand any effective involvement of the student and has no differential influence on his behavior until the end of third year at the College. The reward, then, is too distant to be operational with any real strength. To the extent that the priesthood is an operational goal it is often seen, as noted above, in terms of an image which is not consonant with academic emphases. The solution, once again, is usually to move outside of the College context to obtain satisfaction. Woodstock is beginning to take this into account by building some pastoral activity into the academic system.

It happens not infrequently that a man enters the Society, perhaps just out of high school, and uses the early years of training as a moratorium to solve problems of identity. Frequently the conflicts are worked out during these early years; the regency experi-

ence, especially, when the man experiences his competence on a variety of levels, serves as a matrix for the formation of a new identity. The new identity may not be compatible with expected roles in theology. Or, it may simply be incompatible with the priesthood. Here we would expect a man to leave, and that decision would not necessarily imply failure on the College's part.

A more general consideration is the lack of consequence which is associated with most behavior at the College. There is very little feedback received by the students on academic and other levels of college experience. For instance, it makes almost no difference whether a student passes or fails. There is virtually no external reward or punishment associated with an exceptional student doing exceptionally well or his just passing. If an individual defines the meaning of behavior in terms of effects, much of the academic work of the College communicates no meaning to the student. Granted there may be long-term effects in terms of greater or lesser priestly effectiveness, but since the definition of the Jesuit in primarily academic terms is questioned by some students, and since in any case the ordination to priesthood is so far off, priestly effectiveness is not a high motivation factor. Much of this lack of consequence is made up for by the many activities outside Woodstock. These are important because they maintain the continuity of the (adult) regency role, offer social experience, and rather clear feedback in terms of consequences and felt competence. It is tempting to suggest also that many of the "protests" and "committees" are, in part, attempts by the individual to have a similar effect within the College environment. It would be better to associate consequences with the behavior that Woodstock demands of the student. The College might well take some steps to make this possible.

Competence is central in another student difficulty. The homogeneous background of the student body, and isolation from collegiate and inter-collegiate competition, does not allow definition of self in terms of others. The students can neither adequately judge their own competence, nor find it evaluated in the ordinary comparisons with other students and colleges. High prestige colleges are then seen as the epitome of competence. Since students do not compete successfully with any of these, many experience

insecurity, and their attempt to redefine the priestly vocation is further reinforced. Attempts at redefinition will be better matched with reality when more of reality is experienced.

Conclusion

The theme of redefining the priestly and Jesuit vocation runs through a number of the above points. It is clear that it would be a mistake to try to prevent redefinition. However, it would be just as much of a mistake to assume that reflections on this problem will lead to a new image which is appropriate for all. However, we can say that Jesuits must experience freedom and responsibility. Within certain boundaries, the student must be given the responsibility and opportunity to define himself as a Jesuit priest along three main lines. Each man is expected to have a certain amount of intellectual sophistication, a certain manner of priestly holiness, and a degree of involvement in the action of the Church in the world. Further weighting of each of these values in a Jesuit's life must be the individual's responsibility. His criterion will be his understanding of himself as a Jesuit priest. The function of the College is to provide a matrix where not only the minimum along all three lines is achieved by all, but to provide a matrix within which a man can develop himself differentially according to the weights he has assigned to each of the three values in his priestly commitment. Concretely, this implies the need for a wide variety of courses, both academic and action-oriented; a corresponding variety in faculty background and interests; and flexibility in program arranging. It also has obvious implications for the policy on library acquisitions, college regulations, etc. In most of these areas, the College is taking appropriate (if overly late) initial steps.

BORGIA'S INFLUENCE ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRAYER-LIFE IN THE SOCIETY OF JESUS

points, preludes, and colloquies

Otto Karrer

Here we come to the most interesting part of the internal history of the Society of Jesus. It is a subject as intriguing to the scholar as it is demanding of discretion and a sense of responsibility on the part of the narrator. For as the problem takes shape, it seems to point to a critical confrontation of the two most important personalities in the history of the young Order; and even in the present "historical era" there are few who know how to distinguish between a historical question of fact and a personal judgment of value.

To understand the problem itself as well as St. Francis Borgia's position with regard to it, it seems necessary to describe the intrinsic interconnection of developments from the time of Ignatius to that of the third Jesuit generation.

I

First of all, as regards a so-called "method" of prayer, it may well be an important piece of historical information for present-day critics of "Ignatian" spirituality to learn that a specific type of prayer (along the lines, say, of the method of meditation drawn up by Fr. Roothaan) was neither prescribed by Ignatius him-

From *Der heilige Franz von Borja, General Gesellschaft Jesu (1510–1572)* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1921), pp. 249–274. Translated by George W. Traub, S.J., and Walter J. Bado, S.J.

self nor introduced into the Order during the first thirty years of its existence.[1] While it is true that in his Exercises Ignatius employed, among other methods, meditation (application of the understanding to analysis of a religious truth), and was the first to work it out systematically, still he never intended elevating it to a permanent way of praying, to a kind of official method of prayer for the entire Order. That would have meant throwing up barriers to the natural dispositions of the individual and to the guidance of divine grace; and here Ignatius the mystic would have been untrue to himself. Insofar, then, as charges from the circles of mysticism are directed against an alleged "Ignatian method," they miss their target. "In order to assure everyone what was suited to him, Ignatius showed himself just as flexible with respect to the kind of prayer as he was unbending in limiting its duration."[2]

The sources are entirely clear on this point. In the *Constitutions* we find the terms "vocal" or "meditative" prayer or simply "prayer;"[3] and they are set side by side as of equal rank, so that the individual, to be sure, under the prudent direction of his superior or spiritual father, "may seek devotion" in accordance with his natural dispositions, his degree of spiritual development, and "the measure of grace imparted to him by God." According to the text of the *Constitutions* and the testimony of such important witnesses as Nadal and Canisius or of such scholars as Astráin, Bouvier, and Aicardo,[4] Ignatius looked upon the half hour of prayer prescribed

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[1] A. Astráin, S.J. *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Asistencia de España* (Madrid, 1902–1925), II, 441 f. P. Bouvier, S.J., *Note historique sur les origines de l'oraison mentale* [written in 1903 and "approved" by Father General Martin in the same year (he saw in Bouvier's essay an all too rare source for acquiring a better understanding of the spirit of St. Ignatius, but indicated that Bouvier's findings should not be allowed to call into question the long-established practice of a full hour of mental prayer), this essay was finally published under the title "Les origines de l'oraison mentale en usage dans la Compagnie" in *Lettres de Jersey* for January, 1923, and reprinted as a separate fascicle later that year at Wetteren, Belgium; *translators' note*].

[2] H. Fouqueray, S.J., *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus en France, des origines à la suppression (1528–1762)* (Paris, 1910–1925), I, 478.

[3] *Cons*, P. 4, c. 4, n. 3, d. B; P. 6, c. 3, n. 1.

[4] *MonNad*, IV, 323. O. Braunsberger, S.J., *Beati Petri Canisii epistulae et acta* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1896–1923), V, 296, 316, 846. Astrain, *op. cit.*, II, 441 f. J. Aicardo, S.J., *Comentario a las Constituciones de la Compañía*

for the scholastics early in the day as a time to be occupied in vocal or in interior prayer; and in this connection he urged on occasion that the superior show a broadminded readiness to consider the needs of the maturing religious.[5] The attempt (whatever its source) to appeal to St. Ignatius as the sovereign witness for an intellectual method of prayer, or indeed for any exclusive method at all—to see in him an opponent, for example, of so-called mystical forms of prayer—would be to ignore the living example of the man himself.[6] Such an attempt seems possible at all only in an age when the letters of Ignatius were more or less a lost heritage.

He writes, for example, on September 11, 1536, of "two kinds of prayer," discursive prayer and "another," of which "the other" is the better. For

> every kind of meditation in which the understanding is engaged wearies the body. There is, however, another kind of meditation, orderly and restful, which is pleasant to the understanding and offers no difficulty to the interior faculties of the soul, and which can be made without interior or exterior expenditure of effort. This method does not weary the body but rather helps to rest it.[7]

The point is obvious. Granted, Ignatius does not say a great deal about such matters, least of all when he is giving instruction to beginners or groups. Indeed, if one is to characterize anything as "genuinely Ignatian," then it is precisely that he does not give any general (group) instruction at all regarding "higher prayer." In his view the interior life is something which, like all forms of life, pursues its development according to inner laws, and the higher the form of life and its development, the less it can be encompassed by general rules. For this reason, he believes, the spiritual director must always remember that "there can be no greater mistake in

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de Jesús (Madrid, 1919–1932), II, 405 f. Bouvier, *op. cit.*

[5] *EppIgn*, VI, 90 f.; XII, 126.

[6] See Ignatius' *Spiritual Journal* in Torre, *Constitutiones S. J., latine et hispanice* (Madrid, 1892), pp. 349 ff. [English translation by William J. Young, S.J. (Woodstock, Md.: Woodstock College Press, 1958).]

[7] *EppIgn*, I, 108. [Karrer often seems to be paraphrasing, rather than translating, his sources. Therefore, our translation has usually been made, not from his German, but from the original Latin or Spanish; or we have used an already published English translation. For this passage, cf. *Letters of St. Ignatius Loyola*, selected & trans. Wm. J. Young, S.J. (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1959), p. 24. *Tr.*]

spiritual matters than to want to direct others as oneself."[8] Ignatius emphasizes this point because of his own experience. In the first two years after his conversion, he says, he ran after anyone and everyone who was reported to be specially favored spiritually in order to see whether the interior life of the person in question was perhaps akin to his own and whether two people were therefore alike. But at last, he adds, he gave up; there was no one whose example he could apply to himself without modification.[9]

Finding God in all things

Certainly, the Exercises contain the three ways or degrees,[9a] as Nadal faithfully shows.[10] But in accord with the purpose of the Exercises the more elementary are presented explicitly, the higher in embryo. One must always keep in mind that the Exercises stand at the threshold of religious life—which of course is not to suggest that even the most advanced cannot learn from them again and again. But they are essentially a foundation, and therefore what Ignatius has to say to his sons and companions in his letters and *Constitutions* is not a mere repetition of the Exercises. Rather, Ignatius' attitude toward the training of young Jesuits is oriented around that sublime motif which should be ringing in their ears at the close of the Exercises (the Contemplation on Love): *hallar Dios en todas las cosas*—to find God in all things![11] This practical attitude embraces an entire theory—not of presumptuous mystical aspirations, but of simple faith and awe before the omnipresence of the "divine majesty:" *oratio continua,* "continuous prayer" (to speak in early Christian terms). Nothing so characterizes Ignatius'

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[8] *SdeSI,* I, 278.

[9] *SdeSI,* I, 341.

[9a] I.e., the purgative, illuminative, and unitive. *Tr.*

[10] *MonNad,* IV, 673. In the *Schweizer Kirchenzeitung,* Lucerne, Dec. 20, 1920, Paul de Chastonay gives a fine treatment of the wide range of possibilities which the *Exercises* actually provide for the most diverse kinds of prayer.

[11] As the most recent commentary on the *Constitutions* points out (Aicardo, *op. cit.,* I, 925); cf. *Cons,* P. 3, c. 1, n. 26; see also various letters of St. Ignatius to scholastics of the Society. [Karrer points out that Aicardo's *Commentary,* which began to appear after his book went to the printer, substantiates what he has to say about the prayer-life of the Society—especially II, 304 ff., 345 ff., 386 ff.]

innermost thought and desire as the fact that whenever in his letters he has anything spiritual to say to his brothers in religion, he appeals to this leitmotif of active and yet profoundly and genuinely mystical love of God. On occasion, to be sure, he turns against pietistic extravagances and expresses his reservations about private revelations and similar phenomena[12]—phenomena which are obviously not mysticism. But he does not utter such words of caution without at the same time expressing the wish that his sons may be filled with that genuine fervor which loves "God in all things" and "all in Him,"[13] so as to make every act one of reverence for God—a prayer. That he set the greatest store by this is attested also by his closest friends and by all who lived with him.[14]

Without a doubt one of Ignatius' most beautiful letters is that of September 20, 1548, addressed to Francis Borgia, then Duke of Gandia and Jesuit incognito.[15] Here he expresses his joy over Francis' spiritual zeal, but at the same time finds it necessary, in view of Borgia's predilection for severe asceticism, to sharpen the latter's eye for the incomparably higher value of "spiritual gifts:"

> those gifts (he says) that are beyond the reach of our own powers, which we cannot attain at will, since they are rather a pure gift of Him who bestows them and who alone can give every good. These gifts with His Divine Majesty as their end are an increase in the intensity of faith, hope, and charity, joy and spiritual repose, tears, intense consolation, elevation of mind, divine impressions and illuminations, together with all other spiritual relish and understanding which have these gifts as their objects, such as a humble reverence for our holy mother the Church, her rulers and teachers. Any of these holy gifts should be preferred to exterior and visible manifestations, which are good only when they have one or other of these higher gifts as their object. . . . We know that without them all our thought, words, and actions are of themselves tainted, cold, disordered; while with them they become clear and warm and upright for God's greater service.

The letter was, of course, written to St. Francis, and as every student of Ignatius' letters is well aware, the personality of the addressee strongly influenced both their tone and spirit. For this reason, decisive value attaches to the passages which were meant

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[12] *EppIgn*, XII, 632 ff.; *SdeSI*, I, 251.

[13] *Cons*, P. 3, c. 1, n. 26.

[14] *SdeSI*, I, 278.

[15] *EppIgn*, III, 233. [*Letters*, trans. Young, p. 181.]

for all or at least for groups. As already noted, they avoid specifics; but the spirit, the general direction, is nonetheless clear.[16]

We come first upon a statement of Nadal's which startles us because of its boldness:

> Ignatius himself told me that he found God in contemplation whenever he surrendered himself to prayer, no matter in what way, nor did he have to follow a set rule and order but rather went about praying in a variety of ways and sought God in a variety of meditations. . . . This ability to find God in all things and in every way was, we realize, a privilege granted above all to Father Ignatius; but we also believe that this privilege has been granted to the whole Society. We are confident that the grace of such prayer and such contemplation is offered to all of us in the Society, and we assert that it is bound up with our vocation.[17]

Compare with this the letter written at Ignatius' order to the scholastics of Coimbra, June 1, 1551:

> Our Father prefers that one try to find God in all that one does, rather than devote a long time to prayer. And this is the spirit which he desires to see in the members of the Society; that if possible they do not find less devotion in any work of charity and obedience than in prayer or meditation. For they should do nothing except for the love and service of God our Lord.[18]

Finally, we may read that other passage addressed to scholastics in which they are urged to make a practice (over and above Mass, self-examination, and the morning half hour of prayer) of "seeking our Lord's presence in all things, in their conversations, their walks, in all that they see, taste, hear, understand, in everything they do, since it is true that His Divine Majesty is in all things." And this way of "meditating," whereby one finds God in everything, is, Ignatius thinks, easier than the other and prepares us for great visitations of God without our having to pray for long periods of time.[19]

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[16] It would certainly be an event in the field of ascetical-mystical literature if the unpublished "Treatise on the Union of the Soul with God and on Mystical Love—by our holy Father Ignatius" (cf. *PolCompl*, II, xv) should prove to be authentic. The judgment of the *Monumenta*, indeed, is: "Ex stilo suppositituis videtur."

[17] *MonNad*, IV, 645, 652. [The translation here is a compromise between Karrer's paraphrase and the original Latin text. *Tr.*]

[18] *EppIgn*, III, 502. [Translation in *Finding God in All Things*, trans. Wm. J. Young, S.J. (Chicago: Regnery, 1958), p. 8.]

[19] *EppIgn*, III, 510.

Such statements could easily be multiplied. And significantly, nowhere do we find a passage which changes the meaning and spirit of the above texts. One feels it everywhere (and everything we know in any way about Ignatius attests to it): this *hallar Dios*, this "finding God," was Ignatius' innermost personal life.[20] Religious idealist that he was, he could bequeath to his followers only the highest norms. That is the tragedy of all great founders of orders.

II

From this the sublimest viewpoint within true Christian mysticism—and only from this viewpoint—can we understand Ignatius' decision regarding the amount of time for prayer in his Order.

We are in a position, first of all, to see why, in the *Constitutions* and in his letters, he did not prescribe one and the same thing for all classes or for all circumstances. For the "professed" and for the "formed coadjutors," he did not want to set up a general rule regarding either time or method. *La discreta caridad*, that is, the personal needs of the individual grounded in the love of God was to determine—always with the apostolic goal of the Order in mind—the amount of prayer, study, and ascetical practices in accordance with circumstances. For all of this is only the means for the service of souls. Here is the fundamental principle that Ignatius in the *Constitutions* sets at the head of the chapter on the various apostolic activities of the Jesuit:[21]

> In view of the age and long period of testing required before men can be admitted to the rank of professed or formed coadjutor in the Society, it must be taken for certain that they will be spiritual men—men so advanced in the way of Christ our Lord that they can run along in it as fast as care for their health, external works of charity, and obedience permit. Therefore regarding prayer, meditation and study, or the discipline of fasting, vigils, or similar severities and penitential practices, it does not seem necessary to set down any regulation other than the one which mature charity will dictate to each one—provided, however, that the confessor, and in cases of doubt the superior, be consulted.

In the basic provisions regarding the prayer-life of the Society, which Nadal as visitor drew up for the Spanish members immediately after conferring with Ignatius, we read:

[20] Cf., e.g., *SdeSI*, I, 367, 472; the *Spiritual Journal*.
[21] *Cons*, P. 6, c. 3, n. 1.

All must make this the goal of their prayer and spiritual life in the Lord: to find God in all their apostolic endeavors and occupations, taking the way of the spirit only, accustoming themselves to activate the spirit and devotion in all tasks, and making use of the afterglow of meditation and its habitual attitude—as much as the weakness of our nature will allow. . . . The Society regards it as an imperfection to have to withdraw much in order to pray.[22]

And in a similar instruction:

The fondness and propensity for prayer, which inclines to unnecessary withdrawal and solitude, does not seem to be the prayer proper to the Society, but rather that which inclines to the exercise of one's vocation and apostolic labors.[23]

Most characteristic of all, however, is the statement of Ignatius himself:

If he (Ignatius) had his way, all his spiritual sons would be like the angels, who no longer have any concern for themselves but, ever keeping God in mind, are totally preoccupied with the salvation of men.[24]

How Ignatius interpreted his fundamental prayer-principle in practice is clarified by the fact that no letter of his is known in which he recommends longer prayer. On the contrary, many of his letters set limits to drawn-out prayer and point in the above-mentioned direction, where prayer and work become, so to speak, one. In all this, of course, the spirit of prayer was taken for granted. Ignatius faced a zeal on the part of his followers that needed to be reined in rather than spurred on. Thus the scholastics of Alcalá had to cut their time of prayer in half. Ignatius urgently pleaded with Fr. Francis Borgia (still Duke of Gandia) to do the same. The provincial Araoz had to reduce his prayer time by two-thirds —not to mention, among others,[25] Oviedo and Onfroy who, as early as 1549 (that is, nine years after the founding of the Order), alleged that a reform was necessary and insisted that it was to be brought about by means of longer periods of prayer. They rested their claim on heavenly revelation—which scarcely got very far with Ignatius.[26]

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[22] *MonNad*, IV, 671.

[23] *MonNad*, IV, 673.

[24] *SdeSI*, I, 515 [here the translation is based on Karrer's paraphrase rather than the original Latin]; cf. *AnalBoll*, July 7, p. 580.

[25] Cf. Astráin, *op. cit.*, II, 440.

[26] *EppIgn*, XII, 650 ff.

So much, then, for the formed members of the Society.

The living presence of God

For the scholastics Ignatius had specified, in addition to daily Mass, a total of one hour of prayer, of which the first half was to be given to vocal or mental prayer in the morning, the second half to the two examinations of conscience.[27] The first half hour, corresponding to the hour of meditation today, was in general supposed to be devoted to the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin or other vocal prayer (for example, the breviary or rosary) or, at the discretion of the spiritual director, also with mental prayer when a scholastic or brother showed the proper maturity for it.[28]

These were the requirements laid down for India as well. Beyond them, no visits in common,[29] no litanies[30] or other periods of prayer in common,[31] were allowed—any more than the chanting of the office in choir.

But would not the life of prayer be bound in the long run to suffer under such conditions? As a matter of fact, both men more realistically inclined (like Nadal) and those more monastically inclined (like St. Francis) entertained such misgivings. Ignatius had to justify himself, and his defense consisted in the reiteration of his ideal:

> Over and above the spiritual exercises assigned, . . . they should exercise themselves in seeking out the Lord's presence in all things, . . . since it is true that His Divine Majesty is in all things by His presence, power and essence. And this kind of meditation which finds God our Lord in all things is easier than raising oneself to the consideration of divine truths which are more abstract and demand something of an effort, if we are to keep our attention on them. But this method is an excellent exercise to prepare us for great visitations of our Lord even in prayers that are rather short. Besides this, the scholastics can frequently offer to God our Lord their studies and the efforts they demand, seeing that they have undertaken them for His love to the sacrifice of their personal tastes, so that to some extent at least we may be of service to His majesty and of help to the souls for whom He died. We can also make these exercises the matter of our examen.[32]

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[27] *Cons,* P. 4, c. 4, n. 3.
[28] *Cons,* P. 4, c. 4, n. 3, d. B; cf. *EppIgn,* XII, 126.
[29] *MonNad,* IV, 572.
[30] *SdeSI,* I, 307.
[31] *EppIgn,* VI, 90; VIII, 95.
[32] *EppIgn,* III, 510 and elsewhere. [*Letters,* trans. Young, pp. 240–241.]

More concise and even more characteristic of the Ignatian spirit is the following passage from a letter to Gaspar Berze in India:

> There is even less reason for long periods of prayer there (in India) than here. In activity and in study, the mind can be turned towards God; and when we direct everything to the service of God, *everything is prayer*. Hence, all the members of the Society should be persuaded that when exercises of charity very often take from them *the time of prayer*, they are not for that reason the less acceptable to God than during prayer.[33]

The observation of Fr. Gonçalves, minister of the house at Rome, bears this out in a remarkable fashion: "In spite of all this (that is, even though Ignatius was opposed to prolonged prayer), he praised prayer highly, especially the prayer that consists in living in the presence of God." We see, then, how completely consistent was Ignatius' understanding of the length and the method of prayer.[34]

III

We come now to subsequent developments. These were bound to take place. For if it is true that, as the Order grew in numbers, some of the members found Ignatius speaking a bit "over their head," then at least in cases where the training of the young religious did not accord with his ideas, certain adjustments were sooner or later inevitable. What direction such adjustments would take is clear. Who was responsible for them is, in the end, unimportant. If Francis Borgia's personality and ascetical training had long before marked him as a man of peculiar qualifications, and if these were to play a decisive role precisely at a time when the situation was ripe for them, then, despite everything, we can look upon this meeting of the man and the hour as providential.[34a]

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[33] *EppIgn*, VI, 91. [*Finding God in All Things*, trans. Young, p. 11.]

[34] *SdeSI*, I, 278. Regarding the method of "acquisition," Ignatius does recommend frequent recollection, but not forced recollection, which debilitates the nervous system. On the contrary, "finding God in all things" means for Ignatius, from the very beginning, release from tension; like a peaceful looking, it involves receptivity rather than force. In addition to God's grace, we may add, it depends to some extent upon temperament, mode of occupation, and the like.

[34a] On the use of this term (see also p. 25 below) to describe Jesuit decisions and actions, see John O'Malley, S.J., on "Jesuit Authenticity" in *Woodstock Letters*, XCV (1965), 103–110, especially 107–108. *Tr.*

The beginnings of what was eventually to be a change of course reach back to the time of Ignatius himself. Many members of the Order in Spain, especially those belonging to the spiritual circle of Gandia (Francis' own), failed to find in themselves that entire and perfect harmony with the Ignatian interpretation of the apostolate and of spiritual freedom which they would have desired. They admitted that they felt a certain uneasiness in defending the asceticism of their founder against the reproaches of older religious orders.[35] When Nadal came to make his visitation, they found him not entirely unsympathetic toward their views. On his return to Rome, Nadal argued their position with Ignatius in order to gain some concessions at least for the petitioners themselves. "The vehemence with which I argued the case [recounts Nadal] displeased Ignatius; yet at the moment he said nothing. The next day, however, he sharply rebuked me in the presence of the most respected fathers, and from then on he did not make much use of my services."[36]

Never [said Ignatius]

> would anyone dissuade him from holding that one hour of daily prayer was sufficient for someone in studies, provided he practiced abnegation and self-discipline; for such a man prays more in a quarter hour than a selfish, undisciplined person in two hours. Still, when anyone experiences desolation or is undergoing some interior crisis, he can be permitted longer periods for a while.[37]

According to Gonçalves, who was present at the encounter between Ignatius and Nadal, Ignatius betrayed "both in his facial expression and in his speech such resentment and unusual agitation that I was amazed. . . . His concluding remark was: 'A truly self-disciplined man needs only a quarter hour of prayer to be united with God.'"[38]

This took place in November, 1554. After Ignatius' death the First General Congregation convened and with it came a new attempt to regularize the Order's prayer life. St. Francis himself, as noted earlier, delayed in proposing the extension of the period

[35] *SdeSI,* I, 250; Aicardo, *op. cit.,* II, 387.

[36] *MonNad,* II, 32.

[37] *SdeSI,* I, 278 f.

[38] *SdeSI,* I, 250 f.

of prayer.[39] But like-minded friends of his did bring the matter up for discussion. Nevertheless, the assembled fathers decided that for the time being "the *Constitutions* are to be observed and no further prescriptions are to be made in this area" (Decree 97).

In keeping with this decision, Nadal, after accompanying the General of the Order, Laynez, on a visit to the college in Paris, left behind the following regulations for daily order:

> 4:00 A.M., rise; 4:30, bell for the beginning of prayer; 5:00 A.M., bell for the end of prayer; in the quarter hour before 11:00 A.M. all will make the examination of conscience . . . however, priests who have celebrated Mass are not thus obliged . . . similarly, those who have received Holy Communion may pray in some other way during this time on Communion days.[40]

In 1563, in an instruction drawn up for Fr. Olivier's visitation to France, Nadal explained that on the day of confession further examination could be dispensed with. In the same instruction he takes issue with the custom introduced in France of making a visit in common to the Blessed Sacrament after meals.[41]

Only one further item is noteworthy in the interval between the First and Second General Congregations. In Spain a continuous hour of prayer was retained despite the *Constitutions* and the General Congregation—a situation for which Borgia was responsible.[42] Consequently, the Second General Congregation had to deal with an established custom in three or four important provinces.

The Second General Congregation

By imperceptible stages the majority in the Second General Congregation changed its position on the pending questions of ascetical training. This was not so much due to the direct influence of ideas and movements outside the Order, although at times some members did appeal to these.[43] Nor was the change due only to the fact that the training of the young religious in the most firmly

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[39] *MonBorg*, III, 345, 355.

[40] Bouvier, *op. cit.*; cf. Fouqueray, *op. cit.*, I, 479.

[41] *MonNad*, IV, 572.

[42] This is clear from Borgia's new prayer regulations. In Spain its purpose was only to confirm what was "already customary in those provinces" (Letter of Oct. 9, 1565, to Fr. Valderrabano in Toledo [**Regesta Hisp-Port*, 1564–66]; similarly **Acta Congreg. Prov.*, 1568, 1571, pp. 291 ff.). [*indicates an unpublished MS. source in the Jesuit archives.]

[43] *SdeSI*, I, 250.

established provinces took place under Borgia's influence and lay partly in the hands of persons who considered Ignatian spirituality as simply a new patch on an old monk's-habit.[44] For even those who lived according to the mind of Ignatius tended to lose some of their assurance and conviction in face of the actual situation. In any case, "the superiors of the Society believed they noted more and more how the ideal—so dear to Ignatius—of continual union with God and of purity of intention which he expected his sons to realize in all their activity was hard to attain for the vast majority, unless the spirit renewed itself day after day in long periods of meditation."[45]

Given such a situation, there was understandably a sense of urgent expectancy regarding the position the Second General Congregation would take. On July 2, 1565, Francis Borgia was elected General, and it did not take long for the controversial question to be brought up. Still, several days of discussion elapsed before the assembled fathers could agree upon the following formulation for Decree 29:

> After several days of discussing the pros and cons of extending the time for prayer laid down in the Constitutions (P. 4, c. 5), the Congregation finally agreed that Father General could, after prudent consideration, add what he thought was proper in the Lord; but in so doing he should take persons and countries into consideration.

The minority, representing the northern countries, apparently hoped that the latter proviso would protect it from a general regulation.

Already on October 5, 1565, exactly one month after the close of the Congregation, St. Francis' new set of regulations for prayer was promulgated in the provinces.[46]

To begin with, it is to be noted that the difference from the old regulations lies not so much in a prolongation of the time to be given to prayer as, more important, in the uniformity of the obligation imposed upon all, including the professed.[47] We can

[44] Bustamente, the first novice master, comes to mind; read *EppMixt*, V, 48 ff., 118 ff. (*Cartas de S. Ignacio de Loyola* [Madrid, 1874–89], V, 432; *LittQuad*, III, 531). Astrain, *op. cit.*, II, 135 f., 267 ff., 447 ff.

[45] Fouqueray, *op cit.*, I, 479.

[46] Printed in *MonNad*, IV, 250[1]. Astráin, *op. cit.*, II, 441[3].

[47] Letter of Oct. 9, 1565, to Fr. Valderrabano in Toledo (**Regesta Hisp-Port*, 1564/66).

rightly presume that the Congregation discussed the matter, even though the sources are silent in this regard. In any event, we shall have to admit that the lives of individual religious at this time did provide reasons for this step. At the same time we need not deny that with this move a fundamental Ignatian principle was abandoned and the way opened to further general regulations for the spiritual life.

In contrast, the change regarding the length of time for prayer seems slight. The half hour of morning prayer—the term "meditation" continues to be avoided—was lengthened to one hour over and above Mass and the examinations of conscience. However, outside Spain this hour did not, for the time being, have to be continuous. In Italy, France, and Germany, one quarter of the hour was at first shifted to the evening and added to the examination of conscience. But when the honest Germans admitted to the Visitor, Nadal, that they usually fell asleep during this period,[48] the General took this as an opportunity to enforce the continuous hour of morning prayer that in the meantime had also been introduced in Rome and elsewhere.[49] Nevertheless, it seemed wise to proceed cautiously here and there. Even as late as 1571, the Visitor in Tournai ordered the Provincial to see to it that a whole hour be spent in morning prayer by his Province as by the others, "provided he thinks he can carry this through without causing friction."[50] The Ignatian tradition remained most alive in the Rhineland Province, which submitted a petition for the "restoration of the *Constitutions*" in the next two General Congregations (1573 and 1582), though without success.[51]

To fulfill in some measure the requirements of the decree concerning the care to be taken for personal and local needs, St.

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[48] *MonNad*, III, 388 f., 471.

[49] *MonNad*, III, 487, 514.

[50] **Gall. Visit. 1560–1609 (1564–1616)*, p. 91, n. 14. Unless the daily order edited by R. de Scoraille (*François Suárez* [1913], I, 98) was inserted into the manuscript of the *Hisp. Ordinationes 1566–1592* by error then even Portuguese and Spanish scholastics (Coimbra, Alcalá, etc.) had retained their half hour of morning prayer beyond the time of Borgia.

[51] B. Duhr, S.J., *Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge.* (Freiburg, Munich, Regensburg, Mainz, 1921–1928), I, 571. Aicardo, *op. cit.* II, 400, 404. Decree 5 of Congr. IV.

Francis stated that if anyone had to be dispensed "because of poor health," the *Constitutions* gave superiors the authority to do so. But he took the opportunity to add that "here in Rome, in regard to the amount of time to be spent in prayer, scholastics are not readily dispensed."[52]

The province visitors

In the other measures, too, which Borgia took to regulate Jesuit spiritual life, one cannot but notice the circumspection and prudence with which the Saint proceeded. We come upon prescriptions regarding the recitation of the rosary, the Office of our Lady, the litany of the saints and similar private or community exercises of piety, which little by little increased the previous "prayer load" and at times changed the character of the original spiritual orientation of the Society.

First of all, in regard to the hours of the Blessed Virgin and the rosary, we have his answer of 1571 to the Visitor of Sicily, which changes earlier prescriptions as follows: "Scholastics who have devoted the entire morning hour to mental prayer may recite the rosary at a separate time apart from the remaining one and a half hours; in addition, the stronger ones can be granted permission to recite the Office of our Lady."[53] Yet both Office and rosary—

[52] Braunsberger, *op. cit.*, V, 306. On the other hand, it was in accordance with the mind of Borgia that Claude Matthieu, on the occasion of the visitation of Rodez in 1571 (**Gall. Visit. 1560–1609* [*1564–1616*], p. 65) and Toulouse in 1572 (*ibid.*, p. 115), could rest satisfied with a half-hour of meditation on feasts and communion days. But perhaps this involved only a local dispensation, just as a less strict practice regarding the breviary was permitted at least at times north of the Alps. True, a statement from Rome, addressed on November 21, 1567, to the rector of Mainz, points out: "the hour of morning prayer and the two-fold examination of conscience do not include the office, which we are obliged to recite by reason of Holy Orders" (**Ordinationes et Responsa Praep. Gen. 1553–1580*, p. 168); and a half a year later, Nadal prescribes in Antwerp as follows: "Priests should, even apart from the office, keep to the time of prayer, and indeed for one and a half hours as in Italy" (*MonNad*, IV, 253). But in Ingolstadt the same visitor Nadal states that after a half hour of mental prayer priests may go on to the breviary (*MonNad*, IV, 253). And years afterward, Oliverio Manareo was so sure that Borgia and Mercurian had given the very busy priests and scholastics in the northern provinces permission for a half hour of prayer that this practice was quite apparently justified.

[53] **Decreta Congr. et Responsa Praep. Gen.*, p. 153 f.

evidently in remembrance of Ignatius' earnest counsels—were to remain a matter of personal devotion,[54] except in cases where priests were obliged to offer Mass for a particular intention; then the non-priests were, on their part, to recite the rosary.[55]

In keeping with the traditional custom of the Society, the daily celebration of the Mass was at first also left up to the devotion of the individual. Ignatius himself, because he would have been all too strongly affected by the fire of devotion, generally limited himself to celebrating Mass on Sundays. As late as 1551 he still considered it proper if, because of studies or similar duties, one rested content with saying Mass every other day.[56] Borgia likewise tended at first to look upon and recommend daily Mass as a praiseworthy, but not obligatory, custom.[57] Even in this he was a step ahead of the times in view of the usual practice in the rest of the Church. But by 1571 he had already authorized superiors to impose penances upon those subjects who failed to say Mass.[58] When the new Mass rubrics drawn up by Pius V aroused some opposition north of the Alps even among Jesuits, the General ordered the Upper German procurator to admonish those concerned as follows: "Our Father desires that the ceremonies be observed just as they stand in the new missal—and indeed all of them, and even more of them, if there were more, and with all diligence!" There follows a list of particular rubrics which were to be observed according to the Roman rite.[59]

When in 1566, at the time of the Turkish threat, the same Pope prescribed processions and litanies, the General wrote to the provinces: "We consider it our duty to participate with the means proper to our vocation. Therefore, the litany of the saints is to be recited daily at some given time."[60] After the peril had passed, St. Francis was reluctant to do away with this recitation of litanies. As a result, on September 13, 1567, he ordered all provincials to retain the practice of reciting litanies in common and to have them said

[54] *MonNad,* IV, 586.
[55] See, e.g., Braunsberger, *op. cit.*, VI, 214, 638.
[56] *EppIgn,* III, 507, 509.
[57] Braunsberger, *op. cit.*, V, 548.
[58] **Decreta Congr. et Responsa Praep. Gen.*, p. 5.
[59] *Ibid.*, p. 4.
[60] Braunsberger, *op. cit.*, V, 279 f., 371.

for one or other important intention. From time to time he himself specified the intention.[61] In December, 1570, it still seemed to him "that the needs of the Church demand that the litany of the saints be retained."[62] As late as 1590, the special needs of the times—obviously every age has such needs—were still emphasized in 1590 by Aquaviva, though it had been pointed out to him that a custom expressly rejected by Ignatius even for special intentions[63] was threatening to become law with the passage of time.[64]

When on the occasion of an official visit to Toulouse in 1572 Claude Matthieu, acting in harmony with the intentions of the General, directed superiors or confessors to prescribe for each individual the amount of time to be devoted to spiritual reading, at least on Sundays, feast days, and days of recreation,[65] one can readily enough see here something pertinent to the advancement of the spiritual life. But when he added "and in accordance with the custom of the Society they are to wear the rosary on their cinctures," he was appealing to a custom which came into existence only after Ignatius' death. True, wearing a rosary on one's cincture is in itself insignificant, an external matter, but the reference seems symbolic of the spirit which was at work. Ignatius avoided even in externals all that smacked of monasticism; "he did not wear the rosary on his cincture, but rather left it in his room," as one of the old sources tells us.[66] But like the monks of old, St. Francis wore the rosary even on journeys. For example, one account of the time says that during Francis' visit to the French court in Lent, 1572, the Queen Mother, Catherine de Medici, asked him for the rosary on his cincture to keep as a "relic."[67] We shall see later how, in the matter of the religious habit, Borgia tended to bypass

[61] **Regesta Germ-Gall-Polon, 1565/67*, p. 122; Duhr, *op. cit.*, I, 573.

[62] **Regesta Germ-Gall-Polon, 1569/73*, p. 141.

[63] *SdeSI*, I, 307; *EppIgn*, VII, 708. Cf. Decree 98 of Congr. I. *MonLain*, V, 117 f.

[64] The recitation of litanies in common was at first regarded in Spain as one of Bustamente's additions to the spiritual life of the Society. If he had his way, Bustamente would also have introduced prayer in choir immediately (Astráin, *op. cit.*, III, 448 f.).

[65] **Gall. Visit. 1560–1609 (1564–1616)*, p. 110.

[66] *SdeSI*, I, 560.

[67] Alvaro de Cienfuegos, *La heroyca vida, virtudes y milagros del grande S. Fr. d. Borgia* (Madrid, 1702), V, 16, 4.

Ignatius and his immediate circle of followers (Polanco, Nadal, Gonçalves, Canisius) and to revert to the monastic garb.

The rector of Dillingen once complained of the difficulty of preserving the good attitude of the younger members of the Order assigned to his college. Borgia drew his attention[68] to a means which by that time was being observed in almost all monastic communities, the practice, namely—over and above the more or less lengthy novitiate at the beginning of religious life—of the renovation of spirit during the annual vacation or at some other opportune time of the year. Originally, it consisted of various exercises of humility and charity;[69] but eventually, it developed into a repetition of the Exercises lasting several days.[70] It seems that under Mercurian the custom of having these "Exercises for renewal"—Nadal distinguishes them thus from the Exercises themselves," made as part of the novice-probation"—spread from Aragon to the Order as a whole,[71] until it became a law under Aquaviva (1608).

The so-called *exercitatio corporis* also belongs to the ascetical practices that formed part of the daily order drawn up by Borgia. This term was used to designate manual labor: the individual was called upon to use his physical strength in cleaning the house, kitchen and farm work, etc. The last half-hour or quarter-hour before meals was set aside for such labor.[72]

At St. Francis' behest, exhortations to the community, lasting almost an hour, were held every other week in Rome and elsewhere.[73]

IV

So much for the amount of time to be devoted to religious exercises during the generalate of Francis Borgia. Now let us see how in the same period the Ignatian tradition also underwent change as regards the method to be followed in the spiritual life.

The text of Borgia's regulations for prayer speaks of extended

[68] **Regesta Germ-Gall-Polon, 1567/69,* p. 207.

[69] *MonNad,* IV, 447 f.

[70] *PolCompl,* II, 126.

[71] Astráin, *op. cit.,* III, 179 f.

[72] **Gall. Visit. 1560–1609 (1564–1616),* p. 18 (one-quarter hour); Braunsberger, op. cit., V, 489, 718 ff. (One-quarter to one-half hour).

[73] **Gall. Visit. 1560–1609 (1564–1616),* p. 114.

"prayer"-periods and specifies three quarters of an hour of "prayer" in the morning and a half hour in the evening, the time to be divided between the examination of conscience and vocal or mental prayer, "in each case according to the needs of the individual and with the approval of the superior." The term *meditacion* (meditation) is still avoided everywhere—deliberately, one suspects, in order to assure freedom of choice. At first it was not Borgia's intention to draw any definite limits between vocal and mental prayer. In Germany Nadal had permitted the custom to arise of sounding the bell after a half hour to mark the end of mental prayer and the beginning of vocal prayer (in given cases, the breviary). St. Francis did not approve. It seemed to him "more consonant with the *Constitutions* and sound reason" not to lay down any general rule in this regard.[74] A response to Master Antonio in Turin, dated August 24, 1569, echoes these sentiments: "Concerning prayer, our Father has no qualms whatsoever in leaving it up to your piety and prudence to determine whether you pray vocally or mentally, on your knees or in some other way."[75] He wrote on another occasion to the provincial of Aragon:

> I hear that you always exhort your subjects to make acts of love of God in prayer and that you wish to lead all along this path. Now I certainly praise your Reverence's zeal and holy desires; but keep in mind, Father, that not all are capable of this or can comprehend it! Some follow one method in prayer, others another (cf. I Cor 7:7); and since all kinds are good, we must guarantee freedom so as to be able to give up one and adopt another when the situation calls for it. For many and different are the inspirations of the Holy Spirit and many and different the dispositions and capabilities of men.[76]

Implicit in this statement was a certain criticism of the movement in Aragon which, at times unwisely, propagandized the so-called "prayer of quiet." During his journey through Spain in 1571, Borgia felt it necessary to give community exhortations in which he took issue with this movement.[77] Here we have the antecedents of those anti-mystical circles in the Society which spread more strongly in the ensuing years and whose members—howsoever

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[74] *MonNad*, III, 487.
[75] **Regesta Ital. 1567/69*, p. 280.
[76] **Regesta Hisp-Port 1570/73*, p. 27.
[77] Astráin, op. cit., III, 184 f.

rightly they may have done everything else—did make one mistake: appealing to Ignatius in support of a rigidly restricted "intellectual method" of prayer.[78]

To return to St. Francis, various clues lead us to conclude that the General was happy to see at least the additional half hour spent in mental prayer. A prescript issued in 1566 by Nadal while on a visitation in Vienna reads:

> Insofar as they find it helpful, priests and scholastics should devote to meditation a half-hour over and above the time required for the divine office and the two-fold examination of conscience. If they do not find this helpful, they should read something in a recollected and devout way, not for the sake of intellectual understanding but in order to appreciate the content interiorly by pausing here and there, as the last part of the Exercises (the three methods of prayer) teaches us.[79]

In Ingolstadt Nadal explicitly prescribed that priests could begin the breviary only after a half-hour of mental prayer,[80] and no objection to this was raised in Rome. Moreover, in 1573, Borgia's successor, Mercurian, in response to an inquiry from the Flemish Province noted that Francis in his time had made his will clear: at least half of the hour of prayer was to be devoted to mental prayer or, as the case might be, to meditation; the remaining time could, when necessary, be given to vocal prayer.[81]

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[78] Mercurian characterized "affective prayer" (Cordeses) as well as the "prayer of quiet" (Balthasar Alvarez) as departures from the Exercises and the Institute (Astráin, *op. cit.*, III, 181 ff.). A prescript dated March 12, 1578 (?) forbade the members of the Society to read without special permission the works of Tauler, Suso, Ruysbroeck, Rosetum, H. Herp (*Ars serviendi Deo*), Raim, Lullus, Gertrude, Mechthilde *et alia huiusmodi* (*Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, Brieger, 1895, pp. 98 ff.; incomplete text in *Ordinationes Praep. Gen.*, 1838, pp. 20). This prohibition did not prevent Possevino (*Apparatus sacer I*, Cologne, 1608, pp. 942 f.), Bellarmine (*De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*, Rome 1613, pp. 229, 366), and Lessius (*De Summo Bono* II, p. 1, n. 7) from singing the praises of these mystics. See Braunsberger, *op. cit.*, I, 79 ff. for Canisius' enthusiasm for Tauler. The following may throw further light on Ignatius' point of view in this regard: *EppIgn*, X, 349 f.; *SdeSI*, I, 324 f.

[79] *MonNad*, IV, 290.

[80] *MonNad*, IV, 253. That this was in accord with the mind of the General is clear from his response to the procurator of the upper German province in 1571: "Prayer is to last one hour and this may be filled out by reciting the Office of the Blessed Virgin or the rosary; meditation may be substituted for these latter.

[81] Bouvier, *op. cit.*

Preludes, points, and colloquies

In contexts such as these, executive agencies of the Society were already replacing the more general concept of "mental prayer" with "meditation." For example, Claude Matthieu, upon completing his visitation of Rodez in 1571,[82] prescribed the following with the approval of the General: "The hour of prayer in the morning will normally be devoted to meditation. Therefore superiors and confessors should take careful note of what subject matter Ours choose for meditation. For they should be very familiar with certain subjects, especially with those in the Exercises which deal with the life of Christ." It was desirable that during vacation the rector have the scholastics introduced to meditative prayer. Presenting matter for meditation to one and all, however, was to be avoided. If the novice master found it worthwhile to give such matter in particular to some individual, he could do so.[83] When the rector of Syracuse showed a certain independence in this regard, he was mildly called to task for his breach of etiquette.[84] But he was still allowed to satisfy his zeal twice a week. Nadal did not miss the opportunity to draw up a list of subjects suitable for meditation, prayer intentions, virtues proper to religious, etc.[85] Toward the end of his life, he recalled how Father Ignatius once remarked that it would be a worthy undertaking at some future date to encourage piety by making a collection of the most beautiful pictures depicting events in the Gospel, a collection that would unite purity of style, good taste, and spiritual depth. We must admit that the zealous Majorcan did not meet the challenge too badly. A fine accomplishment of his old age was the *Observations and Meditations on the Sunday Gospels of the Entire Year*, which was published after his death together with one hundred fifty-three magnificent copper engravings.[86]

The meditations which were composed with the help of St. Francis himself once he had taken up residence in Rome fall into

[82] **Gall. Visit. 1560–1609 (1564–1616)*, p. 65.

[83] **Ordinationes et Responsa Praep. Gen.* 1553–1580, p. 154.

[84] **Regesta Ital. 1565/67*, p. 231.

[85] *MonNad*, IV, 575 ff.

[86] *Adnotationes et Meditationes in Dominicalia totius anni Evangelia*, Antwerp, 1595. Another work, very seldom mentioned today, belongs here: *Evangelicae historiae imagines*, 1593.

a different category. Altogether ascetically oriented and constructed in a strict, methodical way with "preludes, points, and colloquies," they were obviously intended to serve as models for the members of the Society.[87] Although they were printed much later, they are nevertheless the predecessors of the so-called meditation books which subsequently flourished inside and outside the Order. These meditations of the Saint are still extant in three precious manuscripts containing the original text,[88] as well as in two incomplete copies, one of which was read and corrected by Francis himself[89] while the other was used by Nadal and prescribed for public reading in the colleges.[90] But it is no longer possible to determine exactly to what extent the individual meditations were actually reproduced for the use of the religious. It is certain that they were in frequent demand and also that promises were made that they would be sent on as soon as they could be neatly copied.[91] The two copies mentioned above may well owe their existence to some such promise.

We can well imagine that this sort of advertising on the part of the third General was of great importance for the adoption of the method of meditation and, for all practical purposes, took the

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[87] Laynez seems to have given the original stimulus for this work at a time when Borgia was sentenced to inactivity because of unfortunate circumstances. This is to be gathered from a letter of Borgia's to Sister Joanna Baptista dated June 19, 1566 (**Epistolae familiae Borg. ad S. Fr. B.*).

[88] **Meditazion.* S. Fr. B. (printed in F. Cervos, *El Evangelio meditado: Meditaciones . . . por S. Franc. de Borja* (Madrid, 1912); *Adnotation. S. Fr. B.)*

[89] **Conciones et meditaciones S. Fr. B.* (printed in Cervos, *op. cit.*).

[90] *P. Natalis Meditat. et Dialogi* contains the pertinent copy of the meditations from *Conciones et meditaciones S. Fr. B.* The greater part was printed in Latin (*Op.*) in 1675 by a great grandson of the Saint and in Spanish in 1912 by F. Cervos (*Evangelio meditado*). But the meditations for the feasts of the saints and the *De comm. Sanctorum* are missing from the manuscript *Adnotation. S. Fr. B.*

[91] **Regesta Ital. 1565/67*, pp. 206 f.; **Regesta Germ-Gall-Polon 1569/73*, p. 78; *MonNad*, III, 347, 364 ff. The journal of the saint shows the zeal with which he worked on these in his free time. On May 1, 1564, he begs for "grace for the Gospel meditations"; by July, 1567, he had almost completed them; in the congregation of procurators held the following year, he submitted them for examination to a number of fathers (*MonBorg*, V, 741, 766, 859, 889).

place of an express command. After all, the laws of the Order had always precluded such a regulation.[92] The practice of using the hour of prayer for meditation is a matter of custom, as Suárez points out.[93] Historically, this custom owes its existence to two men who in many another respect complement each other and who were just as important for the practical orientation of the Society as the *Constitutions* of the founder: Borgia and Aquaviva.

Naturally, the events of the period are also important for understanding these developments. This was the time when Teresa of Jesus was instructing her spiritual daughters in meditative prayer —without, of course, stopping at this level—and when Charles Borromeo was constantly urging this same form of prayer on his priests.

A summary review of the developments in the prayer legislation of the Order under the third General indicates the following: (1) the distinction which Ignatius drew between religious in training and formed religious was put aside and the same norm was now introduced for all; (2) the half hour of prayer in the morning was extended to a full hour and through other additions the time for prayer in general was almost doubled; (3) in general at least, a half hour of mental prayer became the rule; furthermore, because of Borgia's predilection for "meditation," the way was prepared for the priority—and for a time even supremacy—given to this method of prayer.

V

So much for the actual situation. For the historian there remains the question whether and how far Borgia's innovations brought about the results intended.

A fair judgment appears possible to us here only if we keep in mind certain other facts about the Order which at that time con-

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[92] True, the concept *oratio* is changed to *meditatio* in the writings of Aquaviva in 1610; and the hour of "meditation" is presupposed as a rule binding on all. But in their decrees (including Decree 5 of the Fourth General Congregation, Decree 25 of the Seventh General Congregation, Decree 38 of the Eighth General Congregation) the general congregations did not commit themselves to this, as Bouvier (*op. cit.*) shows against Oswald.

[93] F. Suárez, S.J., *De religione Societatis Jesu*, VII, 2, 2.

siderably influenced its structuring. We refer not so much to the change in the relation between the coadjutors and the professed, but rather and above all to the liberal administration of the rules for acceptance and dismissal of candidates. This, of course, helped the Order to grow significantly in numbers, even doubling and tripling it. But it also brought about the negative effect of the law of numbers.

One thing is certain: the conditions which underlay Ignatius' rules for the Society's prayer life no longer obtained. To repeat, Ignatius' view of the spiritual life was extraordinarily high, perhaps too idealistically so for the run of mankind. The basic principles of the spiritual life which he mentions are meant for a chosen elite. A statement he made in his last years speaks volumes: "If there were any reason why he would like to live longer, it would be to see realized his intention that admission into the Society be made very difficult."[94] Yet his strictness in this regard was already legendary. The more the requirements for candidates were lowered under the third General (several superiors and provincial congregations lodged complaints about this, but because of the growing number of colleges being taken under the Society's wing Borgia could not do otherwise), and the less resolutely the training of the young religious was oriented from the very beginning in the direction indicated by Ignatius (St. Francis for one did not return to it), the greater was the number of those for whom Ignatius' idealism—if they knew it at all—necessarily seemed too high or unattainable. Still, the average Jesuit was a good religious; and perhaps for him Borgia's system was the natural one. Thus, we can look upon the ascetical character of Borgia's spirituality, its "monastic wrappings" included, as a providential quality[94a] of the man himself. It helped him to achieve effectively what the evolution of the Society demanded: to set up a structural organization, so far as it seemed necessary, in place of the "spirit." It is surely no accident that, with the possible exception of the northern countries, Borgia's innovations came off with relative smoothness. By and large, they were more the expression of an existing spirituality than its cause.

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[94] *SdeSI*, I, 444, 397.

[94a] See note 34a above.

We can, however, learn something from this period of the Society's history. So far as it was attempted or carried out, uniform regulation of the spiritual life—especially when it appealed to the so-called "Ignatian method" in its effort to hold back or choke off a spirit of mysticism—was not only opposed to the ideals of Ignatius but also necessarily led to lamentable inner crises and to the obstruction of valuable personal and apostolic forces. Perhaps there is food for thought here. The early Society was, to all appearances, more blessed than the later one with strong personalities and apostolic-minded saints.

But in all its pithiness the saying still holds: "The Spirit breathes where He will."

EXILE FROM BURMA

the last chapter

Sigmund J. Laschenski, S.J.

This is the last chapter of the story of the Society of Jesus in Burma, at least for some time to come. The beginning of our Burmese adventure has already been recounted in woodstock letters.* *There a brief history of the Church in Burma was given. In that first article, I tried to sketch the various apostolates we undertook, especially the staffing of the country's first Regional Major Seminary for diocesan priests. In the last ten years, Burma has undergone a great internal struggle which has affected all areas of society. This article is an attempt to explain how the Jesuits have contributed to the Church in Burma, especially in the last five years. Our work in Burma was short, but we hope not without lasting effect. All of us who were there can only pray and encourage those who remained to carry on our work as we live in exile from Burma.*

The study of the burmese language continued until the end. We made time for this during the annual major vacation period of two months when several of the fathers would go out to the villages and towns in the Mandalay area or in the Delta and, living in the midst of the people, would imbibe the language as well as study it formally under a teacher. Some could find time to learn the language during the Christmas holidays by juggling their teaching schedules at the Seminary. Others doubled their teaching load for

* "Jesuit Assignment to Burma," woodstock letters 90 (1961) 3–20.

a while to get a couple of months off occasionally during the school year. All had more and more daily experience in speaking the language about town as the use of English faded from the scene. Learning Burmese was a hit-and-miss affair all the way. The degree of proficiency attained by the fathers varied: all could get along in basic communication when necessary; several could preach and hear confessions; and a few were at the point of being able to give retreats in Burmese. As a group, though, not to mention as individuals, they were far from being expert, a fact which frequently enough hampered apostolic effectiveness, even within the Seminary. The Seminary faculty provided a considerable amount of consultation service to bishops, priests, brothers, sisters and laymen. Worthy of mention in this regard is Fr. Joseph F. Murphy's function as Secretary of the Central Commission for the planned First National Plenary Council in 1958, his membership on the Committee for Spiritual Life and Formation in the Conference of Religious Superiors, which was formed in 1962, and his services rendered when representing the Seminary's probelms to the bishops at their annual episcopal meetings.

Fr. Rufus P. Roberts, too, was frequently consulted by both priests and bishops for help in the solution of marriage cases as *Officialis* of the Archdiocese of Rangoon. Beginning in 1961, he organized the legal sector of the Archbishop's office, published an updated *Folium Facultatum* for the Archdiocese, which was subsequently adopted by many of the other Burmese dioceses, and composed a new constitution for a native Burmese congregation, the Sisters of St. Francis Xavier.

Perhaps here it would be proper to mention Fr. Edward J. Farren's work with the Catholic Teachers' Guild of Rangoon, a group of some 400 people, both religious and laymen. Fr. Farren took over the organization recently started by Archbishop Bazin, saw it through its early years of growing pains, built it up into an autonomous body of mature men and women with an increasing sense of professional pride, established within the association a successful credit cooperative, and then watched the whole structure disintegrate before his eyes with the Burmese Government's nationalization of the schools and accompanying hostility towards all non-government-sponsored institutions. No doubt, consultation of

a more technical nature was offered on various occasions by other members of the Seminary faculty, too. But all were called on frequently by the laity, religious, and clergy for spiritual counseling. Usually this would come about through contacts arising from other apostolates.

Retreats

The request for retreats kept increasing to the point that much of the October mid-semester holidays, the Christmas holidays, and the long vacation would have had to be consumed in giving the Spiritual Exercises. Eventually the community protested, because some time was needed to catch one's breath after an extremely busy school year. More importantly, time was required for the study of Burmese. Fr. Murphy, our superior and the rector of the Seminary, made increasing efforts to involve others, such as the Columban fathers and the Salesians, in this apostolate to help lighten the load. The Archbishop of Rangoon, the Most Rev. Victor Bazin, M.E.P., lent assistance as a retreat master.

A glance below at our own retreat statistics throughout the eight years might be of interest:

	Retreats to					
	PRIESTS	SEMINARIANS	BROTHERS	SISTERS	LAYMEN	TOTAL
1958	2		1	5	2	10
1959	1	1	1	6	5	14
1960	2	1	1	8	2	14
1961	3	1	3	6	7	20
1962	1	1	1	7	2	12
1963	3	1	2	11	6	23
1964	3	2	2	8	1	16
1965	3	2	2	3	0	10
1966			1			1
	18	9	14	54	25	120

The above table does not include the annual retreat given to the scholastics in 1959, nor occasional tridua and days of recollection. We had to leave Burma in 1966 just at the time that the retreat season opened. Our retreat work took us all over the coun-

try and provided the opportunity for learning much about Burma and the Church in Burma. Two of the retreats, one to sisters in 1964, and the other to brothers in 1965, were given in Burmese. The rest were in English. From the beginning it was judged necessary for our fathers to be regular confessors in Rangoon to the Christian Brothers, the Good Shepherd Sisters, the Little Sisters of the Poor, the Franciscan Missionaries of Mary, the Medical Mission Sisters, the Sisters of St. Joseph of the Apparition, the Sisters of the Seven Dolors, and later, the Sisters of St. Francis Xavier. We went to these institutions each week and included a monthly conference. Daily Mass was provided for one community of Christian Brothers near the Seminary and for two communities of the Good Shepherd Sisters. After a couple of years our services to the French-speaking convents of the Little Sisters of the Poor and one community of the Franciscan Missionaries of Mary were handed back to the French Foreign Missionaries of Paris. There still remained, however, a weekly jaunt to eleven communities.

Work in education

From the beginning, also, we were requested by Archbishop Bazin to assist the two French priests who had been working with the Catholic students, some 200, attending the University of Rangoon. Fr. Roberts was the first one to engage seriously in this apostolate. In 1962, after a two-week apostolic training course for members of the Catholic Student Association, conducted by Fr. Roberts, Fr. Eugene P. McCreesh, and Fr. P. Courtot, M.E.P., the Director of the Association, a Young Christian Students' chapter was formed. From then on both, Fr. Roberts and Fr. McCreesh were busy with the students. Later the movement spread to the high schools, where both fathers worked hard to help high school faculty members set up and conduct YCS groups.

Fr. Murphy was regular confessor and lecturer to university students in Marian Hall, a hostel run by the Good Shepherd Sisters. I assisted a sodality of university women students, mostly Chinese, which is now playing a vital role in the life of a parish that has been deprived of its priests. In the last year Fr. Farren was beginning a small sodality for teachers at their request. Through the Catholic Teachers' Guild, Fr. Farren had considerable contact with both university and high school students.

In 1963, I was asked to initiate a Sisters' Formation Program for the religious of Rangoon. Literature from the United States was studied and work began in an unobtrusive way with monthly sessions. The program included an investigation of the customs and beliefs of the non-Christian peoples among whom the sisters worked and lectures on the history of the Ecumenical Councils up to and including Vatican II. The following year the sessions were increased to twice a month. In 1965 there developed out of this an intensive and much needed eight-day course, 8:30 A.M. to 6 P.M., in modern catechetics for both sisters and brothers. On April 1st, the day after the course ended, the Government of Burma nationalized (took away) all the high schools which the brothers and sisters had been conducting in the country for the past century. From then until the end of March, 1966, we provided a second course in catechetics for the religious who had missed the first one, and then an advanced course to train the same religious in conducting similar courses for lay catechists.

As can be imagined, this year of 1965–66 was one of anguish for the religious of Burma, who lost everything they had and were now forced to readjust themselves radically to a new mode of apostolic existence. It is to their credit that they were able, not only to persevere in peace amidst such trying circumstances, but to enter with enthusiasm into a full-time study and practice of the catechetical apostolate, which was urgently demanded now that all the Christian high schools, and later all the primary and middle schools as well, had become the state schools of a strong, secularist, socialist government.

A further development was the formation of a catechetical translation committee composed of brothers, sisters, a layman, and one of our fathers, which spent the last year translating Sadlier's *On Our Way Series*, a task that is still being carried on. This particular text was chosen in preference to others as being most suitable for adaptation to Burmese life. When the first book, Grade Two was finished, and close to a thousand copies were cyclostyled and distributed, it met with an enthusiastic response from people who until then had in Burmese only the *Baltimore Catechism.*

It was the intention of this committee to move into the much more difficult area of Bible translation in conjunction with Fr.

William D. Lynn and Protestant scholars, perhaps, when the catechetical work was completed. A Catholic Burmese edition of the Gospels and Acts and the entire Baptist Bible are available. Both are in need of thorough revision.

During the transition period which led to concentrated attention on the catechetical formation of the brothers and the sisters, the Sister Formation Program came to an end. Moreover, Fr. Lynn and Fr. Roberts were now assigned to give regular courses in liturgy and canon law to the same religious. Peculiarly enough, Archbishop Bazin, who up to this time had shown himself a bit cool towards the Sister Formation Program, now began to urge it, asking us to give all kinds of courses, together with himself and a few of the other priests, to just the sisters. But having clearly reached the limits of our capacities and energies, we had to refuse. The Sister Formation Program as such went on without us.

Liturgy and ecumenism

From 1964, during the early years of liturgical renewal, all the Jesuits had many occasions to cooperate with the Archbishop and the local clergy, both foreign and native, in implementing the decrees. Deserving of special notice, however, is Fr. Lynn's long series of articles in both the English and Burmese editions of *The Sower*, Burma's Catholic newspaper, explaining in detail the liturgy of the Mass and the principles behind the recent changes. Fr. McCreesh, too, made a significant contribution, after many hours spent with the seminarians and one of the Burmese priests in translating the Mass into the vernacular for congregational use and composing a Burmese sung Mass. In a similar way our Kachin seminarians from northern Burma composed, together with some of the Irish Columban fathers, a Mass in Kachin. Much remains to be done in implementing the liturgical reforms in a Church which exists mainly among a diversity of racial and tribal groups, some of whose dialects do not yet have a written form.

Fr. John J. Keenan was instrumental in initiating a retreat movement among adult, educated Catholic laymen. Fr. McCreesh assisted with the Rangoon Catholic Doctors' Association. Fr. Murphy headed the Apostleship of Prayer for Burma. Fr. Roberts taught occasional courses on marriage and medical ethics to university students and student nurses. In the earlier years when we had more

time, a positive effort was made to establish contact and form friendships with Buddhist monks and laymen, but with the pressing obligations of later times this effort, though never totally abandoned, was much diminished. Some of the Seminary staff regularly taught catechism to children and adults. All at one time or another visited the homes of as many of our seminarians as possible. All were called upon for parish assistance and occasional preaching. The instruction of catechumens was a common, if not frequent, form of the apostolate, except for Fr. Farren whose activity in this matter, particularly among the Chinese, was constant and remarkable.

Generally speaking, it seems that Protestant-Catholic relations in Burma before 1958 were cool. In some places Catholics were reacting vigorously to Protestant charges. During the Karen insurrection after Burmese independence in 1948, Baptists were pitted against Catholics in armed conflict in the mountains of northeast Burma. True, there were rare instances of personal friendship, such as that between Archbishop Bazin and the Anglican Bishop of Rangoon, and between Fr. M. Narbaitz, an outstanding French missionary in the Delta, and his Protestant neighbors. Perhaps there were other examples. But, on the whole, Protestants and Catholics tended to lead their lives of Christian witness as if the other did not exist. Little was shown in the way of communication, mutual trust, or Christian love.

The Burmese ecumenical movement was begun on December 2, 1960, by Dr. Paul Clasper, Vice-President of the Baptist Burma Divinity School, with an interdenominational meeting at his home on the Divinity School campus. Three Jesuits and eight leaders of the Baptist Church were present. Fr. Lynn presented a paper on the Catholic position on ecumenism, and U Kyaw Than in turn gave the Protestant view. A lively discussion ensued. The Archbishop approved this meeting with a certain amount of reluctance and a warning to keep the matter quiet. We did not interpret this, however, as forbidding us to inform the seminarians.

The following year a similar meeting was held in Dr. Clasper's home with an exciting discussion on faith and good works. This time a few Protestants of other confessions were present. The same year three of our fathers participated in a three-day institute on the

problem of the Christian encounter with Buddhism, an institute which took place in the Anglican Seminary and was sponsored by the Burma Christian Council, a loose federation of the major Protestant Churches of the country comprising Baptists, Anglicans, Methodists and Lutherans.

Cooperation

In 1962 three of us accepted Dr. Clasper's invitation to a dinner and discussion with Dr. John Bennett of Union Theological Seminary, New York. After this Dr. Clasper and his family returned to the United States. He now resides at Drew University in Madison, New Jersey where he is Professor of Ecumenics and World Religions. Before the close of the year, however, four Jesuits went to the home of Dr. William Winn, who was to take Paul Clasper's place in the ecumenical movement. The meeting at Dr. Winn's house was an informal question period by Baptist faculty members and students on Vatican II.

In 1963, we had the first joint picnic for our seminarians and the senior class of the Baptist Divinity School, young men and women who were about to go forth as ministers of the Word of God. We attended at their invitation. The picnic was a success, broke down many prejudices, stimulated mutual understanding, and laid the groundwork for friendships which continue to this day.

At the Pontifical Requiem Mass for Pope John at St. Mary's Cathedral in June of the same year, the Most Rev. Victor Shearburn, Anglican Bishop of Rangoon, and his aides knelt on prie-dieus in the sanctuary and a contingent of Baptist friends worshipped in the nave. Our students also received a letter of condolence on the Pope's death from the Baptist seminarists.

Two of us, together with the local parish priest, attended Baptist and Methodist Christmas celebrations at Twante, a distant river town. Three others went to the Baptist celebration in Rangoon for the 150th anniversary of the arrival of Adoniram Judson, the first American Baptist missionary to Burma.

In 1964 we took the initiative for the first time and invited the Baptist senior seminarians to Du Bern Beach nearby for their annual picnic, then to our Seminary for tea. At Fr. Murphy's invitation Bishop Shearburn and Canon Maung Phe, the rector of the Anglican Seminary, visited us for a talk on ecumenism and for

dinner. Fr. James Fisher, Secretary of the Catholic Church in Burma, Fr. Gabriel Thohey, who was soon to become the first indigenous Coadjutor Archbishop of Rangoon, and Fr. Lynn participated in the annual meeting of the Burma Christian Council. By this time our own students had thoroughly caught the ecumenical spirit and increasingly took the initiative in establishing contacts with their fellow non-Catholic Christians during the holidays.

When our separated brethren were invited to the episcopal consecration of Coadjutor Archbishop Gabriel Thohey in 1965, they came and stayed for the entire two-and-a-half-hour ceremony. They came again for the minor orders and subdiaconate of our seminarians. Our fathers attended two Faith and Order meetings of the Burma Christian Council. Fr. Lynn addressed the Karen Burma Baptist Convention on the occasion of their one hundredth anniversary, preached for one of the regular Sunday worship services at the Immanuel Baptist Church, and took a group of the theologians from our Seminary to a student ecumenical meeting at the Baptist Seminary. The Catholic Major Seminary staged a lawn party and Bible service for a group of some thirty parishioners from the Immanuel Baptist Church.

The last year of our residence in Burma, 1966, saw a joint ecumenical effort in the city of Rangoon during the Week of Prayer for Christian Unity in January. The charismatic character of it surprised all! Every other day during that week, Christians of different confessions thronged together for an ecumenical prayer and Bible service, first at one of the Baptist churches, then at the Methodist church, then in the Anglican cathedral, and on the last day in the Catholic cathedral, where the Anglican Bishop, a Chinese Methodist Bishop, ministers of all the major churches and our own Catholic priests gathered around Archbishop Bazin in the sanctuary to pray for unity. Similar experiences were had in Myaungmya and Moulmein, and it was reported in the *Religious News Service* for March 28, 1967, that this year the services spread to Taunggyi, Toungoo, Maymyo, and Mandalay.

The joint annual picnic with the Baptist seminarians went off well for the third time in 1966 and it occurred again this year after our departure. Fr. McCreesh gave the third Lenten sermon at the Immanuel Baptist Church on the text "Behold your mother"

(John 19:27), which had been provided by the pastor of that church. All our seminarians attended and provided the choir. Finally, Dr. William Hackett, Baptist minister, scholar, linguist, and agricultural expert, visited the Seminary to talk to our students on problems of administration and ministry within the Baptist Church. During the second semester of 1965 George Bo Pha, a young Baptist scholar, joined our Seminary faculty as music teacher.

The beginnings and growth of ecumenism in Burma have been elaborated in some detail, even at the risk of going too long, to impress on those who read this account the importance we attached to such efforts for the effectiveness, if not the very survival, of Christian witness in Burma. Although much remains to be done, the mutual understanding and friendship that have already resulted are of inestimable value. It was especially rewarding on the seminary level, where tomorrow's pastors had already formed deep friendships before meeting one another in the active apostolate. What this means for the Church in a predominantly Buddhist society, and more recently, in a socialist state that is hardly friendly to any religion, can be easily imagined.

The seminary

The Maryland Province Jesuits were sent to Burma in 1958 at the request of the bishops there to staff the Catholic Major Seminary, the first major seminary of the Union of Burma, a Regional Seminary for all the dioceses under the Sacred Congregation *de Propaganda Fidei.* The background of this mission and the first two years of its development have already been treated in the issue of WOODSTOCK LETTERS that was mentioned in the beginning of this article.

Our student body grew slowly from thirteen in first and second year philosophy in 1958 to forty-four men distributed over three years of philosophy and four years of theology in 1966. We expanded from a group of Burmans, Delta Karens and Tamils in our first year to a seminary of many races including Burmans, Tamils, Delta Karens, Hill Karens, Kachins, Chins, and Eurasians. But over the years our students grew in maturity as well as in number and races. Presupposing their advance in age and grace, three factors may be judged to have been important constituents of the

seminarians' growth in maturity: their apostolic formation, studies, and spiritual guidance.

Apostolic formation

1.) Ecumenism. This formative element of growth has just been explained in the pages immediately preceding, and the fact that it had a noticeable effect in the maturing of our students is merely called to the reader's attention.

2.) Catechetics. All had to engage in catechetics regularly beginning from the second semester of their first year until the end of their seventh year. During the first semester of first year philosophy Fr. Lynn gave a course in the basic content and methodology of modern catechetics. After that the students were assigned to one of the catechetical missions where they would usually have to work two years before being transferred to a new mission. The missions included the Leper Asylum and Home for Incurables, conducted by the Franciscan Missionaries of Mary; two catechetical centers in private homes in North Okkalapa, which was part of a vast, resettlement suburban area of Rangoon; St. Margaret's and St. Francis Tekkatho, two private schools run by Catholics for neighborhood children, both Christian and non-Christian; and the Seminary itself, which was a center of instruction for both our Catholic employees and the Catholic children of the immediate environs. Such were the scenes of sixteen classes involving some 200 people each week. Two of the faculty sat in on these classes regularly and presented the teacher with a critique on his teaching afterwards. Fr. Farren also contributed to the seminarians' training by making available visual-aid equipment and instructing them in its use. Moreover, a variety of literature in modern catechetics was furnished by the library, and the young men were encouraged to engage in catechetical activity as much as possible during the long vacation.

3.) The apostolic symposium. The long vacation is a period of two months from mid-March to mid-May during the hot season, and corresponds to the three-month summer vacation in the United States. For this vacation, each seminarian returned to his own diocese, where he was allowed a week to ten days at home, as a rule, and then sent by his bishop to one or more other parishes to live.

From the start we were intensely concerned about this period of time as a vital supplement to the apostolic formation of the men. When a seminarian returned to his diocese, he was under the authority of his bishop, and more immediately, was dependent on the pastor of his parish. Although the bishops were keenly interested in their seminarians, some were better at providing an apostolic holiday program than others, and the same held true for the pastors. Consequently, in many places much was left to the initiative of the individual student, which was either encouraged or suppressed and the results were often sporadic.

As a partial solution to the problem the seminarians conducted an apostolic symposium after they returned to the Seminary at the beginning of each academic year. Those who had shown more initiative or had more apostolic opportunities were selected to speak in the symposium and share their experiences while the rest were encouraged to make greater efforts in the future. The following is a sample report from one such symposium in July, 1963:

On June 9th, the day of the monthly recollection, the Seminary conducted its fourth annual Apostolic Symposium. At this Symposium fourteen seminarists representing the upper six years of the Seminary related their apostolic experiences . . . of the past vacation. It has been our observation that the seminarists not only learn much from such a presentation, but also receive valuable motivation. . . .

The following were the most common works:

Holy Week Commentaries	17 seminarians
Teaching catechism	16 seminarians
Preaching	23 seminarians
Visiting the sick	17 seminarians

In addition, three men spent much time showing religious slides to the villagers; three were engaged in translation work; two toured with their parish priests; and one worked hard in staging a religious play.

Finally, the third year theologians . . . took the medical training course in Kemmendine. This year it was decided to have the course run for four weeks instead of two, much to the satisfaction of the sisters conducting the course and the seminarians taking it.

Some interesting points brought out during the Symposium were these:

a.) In bringing Christ to the people, an effective way is through their children.

b.) It is necessary to be prepared in advance to train both servers and singers for Holy Week, and to preach. It seems that some were asked to preach, especially, on very short notice.

c.) One should not be afraid to take the initiative, though always with due deference to the parish priest, and suggest to his parish priest that he be allowed to give Holy Week commentaries, preach, teach catechism, etc., if the parish priest fails to give the seminarian staying with him anything to do.

d.) Apparently the people want to see their priests and seminarians men of prayer, are edified if they do see this, and are surprised and hurt if they do not.

The other solution, which we began to apply to the problem of the long vacation, was to design certain obligatory programs. Thus between the third and fourth year of theology the men had to live together for five out of the eight weeks in a center and prepare for the *Ad auds.* These parish centers were carefully chosen by the bishops so that there would be a priest present who was willing and able to act as consultant for the students.

Increasing Opportunities

Between second and third years the theologians had to return to Rangoon for first a two-week, and in later times, a four-week course in theoretical and practical medicine under the expert guidance of the Franciscan Missionaries of Mary and of government physicians at the Leper Asylum and out-patient dispensary. Here the seminarians not only studied about leprosy and all the common ailments, but had to work in the dispensary for three hours each morning treating the patients themselves, and later go and dress the lepers' wounds.

In recent years when we began the practice of sending our students out to neighboring dioceses during the ten day mid-semester holidays, we found that most often the pastors were waiting for them with a full round of apostolic activities from teaching music to giving retreats. These October holidays were always eagerly anticipated by the seminarians, both because of the potentially interesting apostolate and because they were going to a diocese different from their own.

As a further intensification of the apostolic training program, all were sent out after our departure to nearby parishes during the Christmas holidays. Since Christmas of 1966, the older men began the practice of going to the parishes to work there every weekend.

4.) Sodality. After some discussion it was decided to begin a

Seminary sodality. It had to be voluntary and adapted to the goals and life of seminarians. Passing through various stages more or less successfully, it evolved into a sodality for theologians. The first year and a half was a time of probation. This was followed by temporary consecration to Christ through Mary, and if the candidate so desired, he made a lifetime consecration in his fourth year. Plans were being made for an alumni sodality as part of the alumni association. The key elements of the Seminary sodality were consecration of one's life under Mary (an idea which has strong appeal to the Burmese Catholic), orientation to the priesthood, and extra preparation for the priestly apostolate through study and action. The study became a sociological inquiry into the many components of the societies in which they would be functioning as priests. The planned action, which was never able to be carried out because of the sudden change in Seminary administration, was to conduct a sociological survey in the villages where the seminarians would be living during the long holidays. There was, however, considerable action of another sort on the part of the Seminary sodalists through participation in the meetings of parish and university apostolic groups about town.

The results of sodality studies were made available to all the seminarians, and the weekly sodality meetings, open to all, were attended by many non-sodalists. There was also a special sodality project for greater contact with and understanding of the sick and disfigured, in which, on a purely voluntary basis, the director and one of the sodalists would from time to time visit the Home for Incurables and help the staff by bathing the spastic children there.

5.) Apostleship of Prayer. The Apostleship of Prayer had been introduced into Burma by the French Foreign Missionaries of Paris long ago, but apart from the use of the Morning Offering which was available in both English and Burmese prayerbooks, by the time we arrived on the scene the association was nearly defunct. Although we attempted to revive it on a national scale, the response to our efforts on the part of the clergy was not exactly enthusiastic. However, as in many other fields, our hope was in the future priests and bishops, our own students. Towards the end of the course of theology each one had to put in a year as a promoter of the Apostleship of Prayer. This involved a monthly meeting and active

promotion of the Apostleship of Prayer among the people of our catechetical missions and those who came to the Seminary every Sunday for Mass. The response of the seminarians to the whole idea was encouraging, for they recognized two elements of the association as having particular value for the Church in Burma: the offering of one's day to Christ in the Morning Offering and attempting to carry out the offering and the organization of a parish spread out over the hills, the plains, or the Delta into bands of ten people under a promoter who would visit them each month.

6.) Homiletics. Perhaps the most important part of their apostolic formation was the seminarians' work in speech and homiletics throughout the seven years. During the years of philosophy, class was held every Sunday morning in the theory and practice of correct English speech. Sermons were delivered in the refectory also.

Homiletics classes were likewise conducted on Sunday mornings through the four years of theology. Concurrently each theologian had to take his turn in preaching every Sunday morning at the 8:15 Mass. This Mass was originally intended for our Catholic workmen and their families, but attendance spread rapidly to people living in the neighborhood who, because of the distance from their parish church, would not otherwise get to Mass at all. Before giving his Sunday sermon or homily in Burmese, the seminarian had to practice, tape-record, and listen to the sermon the night before, and have it criticized by the Jesuit in charge of speech. Such Seminary training was very much supplemented by the widespread practice, due to the shortage of priests, of seminarians preaching in the country parishes of Burma during the vacation periods.

7.) Liturgy. The liturgy, so vital to the life of our people, especially in lands where a liturgical celebration is often enough a rare event, was always the object of special concern. There were weekly classes in rites and liturgy for the philosophers, and a course in the liturgy for the theologians. Of still greater importance was their participation in the liturgy. With the Archbishop's permission, we kept somewhat ahead of the new liturgical changes and were already incorporating them into our services when the laws went into effect. Full participation in the Eucharist in both English and Burmese with deacons, lectors, commentators, choirs, and proces-

sions was constantly experimented with and re-assessed. The 8:15 Sunday Mass for the people proved to be an invaluable liturgical workshop for the theologians, with one of the fourth-year theologians appointed for a semester as quasi parish priest to coordinate the liturgical program and keep in touch with the people.

Studies

The last two subheadings lead to the area of formal studies. The study of philosophy and theology and related subjects received prime emphasis. This was felt to be imperative in a land where learning was very much lacking, and had even been discouraged among Catholics in the rural areas by an earlier generation of missionaries.

Despite the stress on studies and our continual wrestling with the problems of improving the quality of our courses in philosophy and theology; despite the fact that we petitioned Rome and received in 1964 a dispensation from the use of Latin as the medium of instruction, which had proved a formidable barrier to learning for young men whose background was completely devoid of any Latin and Greek culture; and despite the impression that the situation was steadily improving, we felt at the time of our departure from Burma that the Seminary was still considerably substandard in comparison with many other Asian seminaries. English had to be taught during the years of philosophy. Throughout the seven years of the course, constant effort had to be made to instill a desire to read more than what was strictly assigned. By the time they finished, most of our students had acquired reading habits and a desire to continue reading at least in literature which is pertinent to the Church. This was gratifying, but it is indicative of the academic level at which we were existing.

A further problem was the constant battle that had to be waged to maintain minimal entrance requirements for the Major Seminary. Seminarians of today were to be the leaders of the Church tomorrow. In the light of our experience with the intellectual needs of the Burmese seminarian, seven years of seminary training was, for the most part, just barely enough. Moreover, if the candidate was to profit from these seven years, he had to have passed at least the ninth standard and have two additional years of Latin and

English before coming to us. But this minimal requirement did not really satisfy us, and we lobbied hard with the bishops to send us only boys who had passed the tenth standard and matriculated, i.e., were eligible for college.

The majority of the bishops supported this position and tried, not always successfully, to see that these requirements were fulfilled. However, certain bishops and their consultors from the north-eastern part of the country, who like everyone else were terribly short of priests and wanted men fast, offered vigorous opposition. They believed that their priests would be working deep in the jungle among the most primitive types of people, and so, needed little education. At least, so they felt, our insistence on such high educational standards was utterly unrealistic. To which we replied that precisely because of the primitive conditions in which their priests would be laboring, it was all the more necessary for them to be well educated. Moreover, the children of even the primitive peoples were beginning to go to school, and some to college. How would ignorant priests be able to take their places among these educated fellow citizens as leaders of the community in the modern world?

Closely connected with studies was the library which, with the help of many benefactors, was gradually acquiring real excellence. By 1966 it contained over 12,000 selected volumes. In 1964 the Government issued an ambiguous decree on the registration of all private libraries. The Archbishop decided that this decree must apply to us also, even though as a strictly religious institution we were very different from ordinary private libraries. Five hectic weeks ensued during which, with the help of two hired typists and assistants, every book was registered in triplicate according to author, title, publisher, date of publication and country in which it was published. Shortly after, we received our registration number from the Government, and later the entire library was checked by an agent from "the Special Branch" of the police. For reasons that were not altogether clear the Government refused to grant a renewal of the registration the following year. But we carried on, books were allowed into the country duty-free, and we were able to maintain a fresh intellectual life. The library is intact to this day, and during the past year we have been able to send many more books to enhance its value.

It might be useful to sum up this section on studies with a list of the teaching loads of the faculty. Fr. Murphy, the rector, taught a three-year cycle course on the Gospels to the philosophers and various courses in Oriental and Church history. Frs. Farren and McCreesh shared the philosophy department and taught occasional courses on related topics. Fr. Keenan, in addition to being procurator and minister of both the Jesuit community and the Seminary, taught science and parish accounting. My chief work was that of spiritual counselor, librarian and teacher of speech, English, rites, and liturgy. Fr. Lynn was busy with all of systematic and historical theology, Scripture, liturgy, and occasional related subjects. Fr. Roberts had canon law, moral theology, and homiletics for the theologians.

Spiritual formation

All the elements of apostolic and intellectual formation also had a direct and essential impact on the spiritual development of the students. Nevertheless, more was both needed and provided. Although most of the seminarians who came to us had had from two to seven years in a minor seminary and were, on the whole, trained remarkably well by the French or Italian missionaries in charge, their introduction into a life of prayer and asceticism remained rudimentary. It was the task, therefore, of the spiritual counselor at the Major Seminary to provide instruction in theoretical and practical ascetism through weekly conferences, and to guide the students in the art of mental prayer. All the students had to stop in and see the spiritual counselor once every two months although they were also free to consult with any other member of the faculty. The work of spiritual formation was carefully supplemented by Fr. Rector, who himself gave weekly conferences of an ascetical nature, and conducted regular, personal interviews. Moreover, there was not one of the faculty who did not have considerable influence in the spiritual growth of the seminarians in one way or another.

In keeping with recent emphases on less regimentation in the seminary and allowing for greater scope in the exercise of responsible freedom, disciplinary regulations were relaxed and revised at least twice in the past few years, with, it ought to be noted, a fully positive response from the young men. It might be said that we had

established rapport with our students. They recognized that we were with them and for them in the best sense of those phrases. In a letter dated July 14, 1966 to Very Rev. Fr. Provincial, Fr. Edward J. Sponga, after we had departed, the seminarians wrote:

> Every year, 31 July has been a very big day in our Seminary for more than one reason. . . . This year, although we will conclude our annual retreat and celebrate the feast of St. Ignatius on 31 July, God has deemed this day to be otherwise. 31 July will not be a big day for us; it simply cannot be a big day for us without our much beloved Jesuit Fathers. . . . We miss them very much. From their letters it is clear that they too miss us; but for good reasons, dear Fr. Provincial, we miss them more. They are all men of sterling character and solid virtues; but above all, they are Jesuits, and that makes the whole difference. Although their hearts were rent at the thought of having to leave us at this time, they can take consolation in the fact that the spirit which they have instilled in us will continue to guide and influence us, so that we may be, with God's grace, just the kind of priests that they strove to make us to be.

The Jesuit community

Going to Burma in 1958 we were eight, five priests and three scholastics: Frs. Joseph F. Murphy, Edward J. Farren, John J. Keenan, Eugene P. McCreesh and myself; and Messrs. Francis P. Fischer, Louis E. Niznik and Thomas E. Peacock.

At the end of 1959 Mr. Fischer returned to the United States for theology, and Messrs. Niznik and Peacock followed shortly after in May 1960. Their places were taken by Fr. Lynn, who arrived on May 7th, and Fr. Roberts, who came on May 17th. In July 1964 Fr. Keenan returned to the United States, leaving a staff of six. We had been hoping to get Frs. Fischer, Niznik, and Peacock back in 1965 upon the completion of their tertianship, but by then the Burmese political situation had become so unfriendly that this hope had to be abandoned.

Unable to see other Jesuits except for rare visitors passing through, we had to live with one another and work together for the Church in Burma day after day, year after year. Our early journeys were confined to within the country itself in order to get to know it. Then in July 1961, Fr. Murphy attended a meeting of seminary rectors in the Philippines. I represented the Maryland Province in Jamshedpur at the consecration of its first bishop, the Most Rev. L. T. Picachy, S.J. in September 1962. Shortly after this the Burmese Government slammed its doors shut and forbade all travel abroad

for anyone except on government business. Not long after Very Rev. Fr. John M. Daley's provincial visitation in November 1962, the Government refused to grant visitors' visas beyond twenty-four hours duration. The community was hammered and forged into shape on the anvil of necessity. Though we always got along with one another, in the later years we were becoming a close-knit group. Perhaps we reached our high point, at least in its outward manifestation, at our first concelebrated Mass with our students and many lay friends present in the Seminary chapel on the evening of December 3, 1965, the feast of St. Francis Xavier. We were formed in Christ by one another, by our seminarians, and by the beautiful Burmese people, lay and clerical, for whom we worked, whom we loved and who loved us.

Many other things could be written about the Seminary and the Jesuits in Burma: the planning, re-planning and despair of new seminary buildings on a new and enlarged seminary site; the final approval of all, after prolonged negotiations, of a contract between the Seminary and the bishops of Burma; the laymen on our staff over the years who taught the seminarians Burmese; the addition of Christian Brothers to the staff during our last year after the nationalization of their schools; the Seminary lecture forum; the delight that was ours on the occasion of the ordination of our first six priests in 1964, and then in the subsequent ordinations of 1965, when three more were ordained, and 1966, when five became priests; the intense interest in our alumni and the formation of an alumni society with its *Alumni News Bulletin*, and book, periodical, and consultation service; the whole problem of Jesuit vocations and the acceptance and training of candidates in a country which no one could leave or enter; the request of the Archbishop for a Jesuit editor of *The Sower*, the National Catholic paper; requests made in 1960–61 by a member of Parliament from Arakan in western Burma, before the rule of the present Government, for a group of Jesuits to staff a high school for leaders, etc. But time and space are running out.

The end

In 1962 the political and economic situation of Burma under Prime Minister U Nu was quickly deteriorating. Something had to happen, and it did. On March 20th the Burmese Army, with Gen-

eral Ne Win at its head, staged an almost bloodless coup d'état and took over the government. The Army had been in power a couple of years earlier for a brief period as a "care-taker" government, and had proved itself efficient and enlightened. High-ranking officers of moderate political views had been shipped off as ambassadors to foreign countries. The remaining group which formed the Revolutionary Council of the Union of Burma and rules Burma to this day were men of extreme nationalistic bias and strongly socialist-oriented in the practice of government.

First came a series of documents: *The Burmese Way to Socialism* in April 1962; *The Constitution of the Burma Socialist Program Party* in July of the same year; and *The System of Correlation of Man and His Environment* in January 1963, all stating the policies, aims and initial structures of the new Government.

Next in a series of gigantic annual steps the Government nationalized the banks, most of the businesses, services, shops, hospitals, high schools, and finally all the primary and middle schools. The larger denomination fifty and one-hundred Kyat notes were demonetized and eventually a brand new currency was issued. In the wake of such rapid nationalization the already weakened economy of the country grew steadily worse, the most basic commodities like rice and cooking oil were in short supply, and a vast, new black market flourished.

Government efforts to end five different insurrections going on in different parts of the country generally failed. Crushing an incipient revolt of Buddhist monks, the Government showed itself cool towards all religions. Less than friendly to the West, the Government cultivated the friendship of Russia and the satellite nations and maintained a constant interchange with the government of mainland China. The bishops of Burma were allowed to attend the first two sessions of Vatican II. Only the foreign bishops were allowed to attend the third session, and none were permitted to go for the fourth session. Although we were never in anyway harassed, and, indeed, up to the end received gracious treatment from government officials, the situation hardly looked promising. On the contrary, it was getting worse, and we knew it. We continued in hope and in prayer.

Suddenly the serenity was shattered.

Kanazogone

The Seminary had just closed for the vacation. Three of this year's 1966 graduating class had already been ordained. Two more ordinations were due in the Delta, so Fr. McCreesh and myself packed our bedrolls and headed for the jetty. We were jammed safely aboard the double-decker river launch when at 4:45 P.M. with much shouting and ringing of bells, the cables were loosed, and our boat cast off and headed out across the Rangoon River. Night fell before long, and curled up back to back with the half-dozen Burmese friends who had joined us from Okkalapa, we fell asleep on the lower deck.

The next morning the view was beautiful as we approached Kanazogone aboard the small motor boat to which we had been transferred in the early hours of the morning. The water sparkled, a bright blue, and across the water along the river bank lay Kanazogone, a long, sprawling, shaded village, dominated by palm trees and washed by one of the numerous tentacles of the Irrawaddy River, reaching out in constant motion towards the sea. Here on the morning of March 24, 1966, shortly after the ordination to the priesthood of Fr. George Phuneesan, a Christian Brother stepped from a launch, walked along the grassy footpath to the clergy house, and presented to Bishop George U Kyaw a letter from the Archbishop of Rangoon, a letter which informed us that the Government of Burma had on the previous day decreed our expulsion.

Kanazogone, ordination day, expulsion. Associations which have seared our memories.

The Government issued a list of 232 foreign missionaries, priests, brothers and sisters, together with the dates on which they must leave Burma, and communicated it to the Church authorities. Not all the priests were on this list. Some ninety of the older ones who were in Burma before independence and had permanent stay-permits were permitted to remain. All the Protestant missionaries, relatively few in number, were however obliged to leave.

After attending the second ordination, that of Fr. Paulinus Eischaung, at a village farther west in the Delta, we returned to the Seminary. Grim days at the Seminary. Days filled with emotion, days of despair and of hope. Of hope because the bishops had filed

a petition with the Government that the Seminary fathers might be granted an extension to remain at least a while longer and prepare men to take their places, and because the Catholic Laymen's Board put in a similar petition for all seventy-three priests who were to be expelled. We waited, and did nothing to arrange the formalities for our departure from the country. We hoped against hope. And our people prayed.

After Holy Week and the Burmese New Year festival, April was half over. No word had been received from the Government concerning the petitions which had been sent in. According to the decree Frs. Murphy, Farren, and McCreesh had to be out by April 30th and Frs. Lynn and Roberts by May 31st. I would leave with the first group. We waited one more week.

Meanwhile, some of the Burmese faculty who were to replace us began arriving at the Seminary, and in the short time available we introduced them to their work. More and more visitors dropped in to say goodbye, and there were many people whom we had to go out and visit. Saturday passed. Still no reply from the Government. Sunday, then Monday followed of the last week. On Tuesday we had to go to the Immigration Office, surrender our stay-permits and fill out the papers necessary for departure clearance. Many Burmese people were trying to leave the country, and often a year or more dragged by before they received permission to go. We, who wanted only to stay, were cleared in less than two hours.

The next-to-the-last day, the last day, and then it was the night of April 29th. As Fr. Murphy and I reached the airport shortly after midnight, we were met by many of our friends outside the door. It was difficult to get through to the Pan American counter. Inside the building at least 200 people were waiting to bid farewell to the two of us, a French father, and two Good Shepherd sisters. The atmosphere was hushed. We communicated with one another, all of us, in deep sadness. The last blessings given, we entered the external flight department where no one else could follow. The immigration officer greeted us politely and checked our passports.

"Eight years in Burma, Father. That's a long time," he said. "Not long enough."

Pan Am's 707 jet liner from Bangkok, bound for Calcutta, arrived, and soon we had to take those last steps across the landing strip

to the plane. Our friends had all moved to the outside balcony where they stood and waved and waved, but without a sound, until one by one we disappeared through the doorway of the plane. The door closed. It was more than the mere door of a jet plane which closed that night.

Later in the morning the same scene would be repeated when Frs. Farren and McCreesh boarded a jet for Bangkok. And it would happen again a month later at the departure of Frs. Roberts and Lynn.

Sequel

The bishops of Burma had to contribute six of their parish priests to take our places at the Seminary. Three of them, the three who are teaching all of theology and half of the philosophy courses, are our own graduates from the first ordination class of 1964. Thus we were replaced. There was no one to replace the rest of the seventy-three priests who had to leave. No one to replace the brothers and sisters.

The Seminary has recently completed its first year without the Jesuits. We kept in frequent touch with them by mail, and know that it was a struggle. There were many problems and a few ideals had to be sacrificed. But they succeeded, and during the weeks from March 18th till April 2nd six more priests were ordained.

There are some 200,000 Catholics and 300,000 non-Catholic Christians out of a total population of about 24 million Burmese people, most of whom are Buddhists. Nevertheless, if the expulsion of the foreign missionaries is due only to a wave of extreme nationalism, there is hope for the Church in Burma. It can grow and mature on its own. Because of its underdevelopment, this will be difficult, but it is not impossible. The Government, however, has also acted consistently in the political, social, and economic spheres in a manner that is more than suggestive of a genuine Communist state, a fact which introduces an element of serious uncertainty.

The Jesuit venture in Burma was unique. We had what was, perhaps, an unparalleled opportunity for influencing the Church of an entire country through the formation of its future priests and bishops. It was literally too good to be true. Beyond this, it is extremely difficult for one who was involved in the tragedy to philosophize. We must live silently by faith, and in our faith find hope.

REMINISCENCES OF FATHER PATRICK DUDDY, S.J.

a nineteenth century Jesuit

Edited by R. Emmett Curran, S.J.

Fr. Patrick Duddy was born in 1819 and died in 1891. Most of his life was spent in Philadelphia. A Jesuit for over fifty years, he was for a long time Procurator and Minister at St. Joseph's Church, Willings Alley. The following are excerpts of a manuscript given by Fr. Duddy in his last years to Dr. Lawrence Flick, then President of the Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia. The manuscript remained in his family until very recently.

We think the reminiscences offer a unique observation of the Church and the Society during the turbulent years of mid-nineteenth century Philadelphia. The author lived through the Hogan schism and the Know-Nothing campaigns; he knew Bishop Hughes, Bishop Neumann, Fr. McElroy and others who are familiar in American Catholic history. These are the candid, random remarks of a priest who moved easily among the men and events of his era.

The Hogan schism

[In 1820 Bishop Henry Conwell suspended an Irish priest, William Hogan, who had been living rather indecorously as a favorite of the wealthy Catholic society besides openly ridiculing the Bishop in the press and pulpit. This touched off a long controversy between Conwell supported by the general hierarchy and Hogan supported by the trustees of St. Mary's Church, at that time the Bishop's cathedral and resi-

dence. The trustees closed the church to the diocese and a schism then began that involved the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania and the Vatican before ending in 1831 with the capitulation of the trustees. By that time Hogan, tired of the struggle, had withdrawn to the sidelines and Conwell himself, well over seventy, had been forced into retirement by the vicissitudes of the case. Fr. Duddy offers an instance not found elsewhere. The Bishop had at this point taken refuge at St. Joseph's and the trustees had already attempted to burn it down.]

Mr. Paisley kept a young ladies boarding house on North East corner of 4th and Willings Alley. The young ladies used to watch the bishop in his room. The young ladies swore that the bishop had intercourse with women. At the first meeting of the bishop there were but 6 or 8 persons present. Everybody was with Hogan until the truth came out. My father was one of the 6 or 8.

Father Morgan had some letters from a Miss Nevins in which she stated that she had accused the bishop wrongfully of being the father of her child at the instigation of Hogan. She afterwards went before a magistrate and made affidavit that the child was Hogan's and that she had been induced by Hogan to put the child on the Bishop.

Bishop Conwell presented a very fine appearance. He looked like a noble Irish gentleman. Cardinal Ximenes gave him a picture of himself and the Bishop had the Cardinal's head taken off and his own put on. [This hardly seems likely since the Cardinal had died three hundred years before. Conwell most likely received the picture from the same source that he had received Ximenes' ring—Joseph Bonaparte, the former king of Naples, who held a pew at St. Joseph's during these years.] The bishop was not an able man and a mediocre preacher. . . .

St. Joseph's

[Fr. Duddy was baptized in old St. Joseph's, the first public Catholic Church in the American colonies, which in 1954 became a national shrine.] My earliest recollections of the church . . . are that [it] came out even with the house, and then it was enlarged about the time Bishop [John] Hughes was ordained priest. [Actually the church was enlarged in 1821, five years before Hughes' ordination.] . . . In front of the house there was a graveyard and the graves and bodies are probably there yet . . . Under the church there was a graveyard too. When father [sic] Jordan had the basement improved a whole boxful of bones were [sic] picked up. . . . Father Farmer and some other priests had been buried there. . . .

The last seculars there were Fathers Whalen and Donaghue. . . . Father Whalen was a very eccentric man. He had a big opinion of him-

self. He always started with I and ended with I. He was very egotistic. . . .

Father Donaghue started the Sunday School at St. Joseph's. He was an excellent man. He had been educated by the Sulpicians in France. He was a great scholar but no orator. He was about 5 feet 8 inches in height, had dark hair, a sandy complexion and was a very sociable man. . . .

In June 1833 the Jesuits came. Rev. Father Kenny [Peter] who had been a visitor to this Province . . ., and Father Stephen Dubuisson came at that time and then Fr. Kenny left and Father [James] Ryder came and took his place, and he was taken away on the 1st of January . . ., namely in 1834 and Father Richard Hardy took his place and after him Father Edward McCarthy. Father [Felix] Barbelin came September 1837.

Father Dubuisson was a straight compact man, long and erect. He had a slight impediment in his speech. He was a very good preacher. He had been private secretary to the first Napoleon. He was required to go to the theatres with Napoleon, and he always took Thomas à Kempis with him and whilst the others were enjoying themselves, he read Thomas à Kempis. Napoleon called him his papist secretary. He was then a layman.

He was of sallow complexion, and had black hair. Whilst he was pastor here a man by name of Shilling died on Lombard street, who had made a will which ignored his nephew, and which was therefore contested. As Father Dubuisson had attended the sick man he was subpoenied as a witness to prove unsoundness of mind in the diseased [sic]. The Lawyer wanted to poke his fun at Father Dubuisson and asked him: "Are you a Jesuit?"

"I am."

"Well, are you one of those full Jesuits?"

Father Dubuisson replied, "I don't know what you mean by a full Jesuit but I have not had my breakfast today yet." He was a very exact man.

. . . One day when I was thirteen I saw Father Dubuisson at his prayers and whilst doing so I saw him raised about 2 feet from the floor. I had been sent to Father Dubuisson to get a Bible for Fr. Kenny and when I knocked at the door and got no answer I knocked again. . . I peeped in and saw that. I then knocked louder and was asked to come in when Father Dubuisson arose and was quite bewildered but said nothing.

Father Ryder attracted people by his good preaching. Prior to that none but poor people and San Domingo Negroes came. . . . [He] was

a man about 5 feet 6 or 7 inches in height. He was born in the city of Dublin and came here in 1833. . . . He remained until the following January and was then taken away to Georgetown College because they expected a rebellion there and he was believed to be the only one that could manage it. He was the best preacher in the city but no singer. He was a man of full habits and very particular about his clothes. He was always neat and clean but not dudey [sic]. He had black hair and florid complexion. He had a certain accent (Dublin . . .). People used to converse with him for the pleasure of hearing the accent. He couldn't bear a sneak or a person doing a mean dirty thing. Any acknowledging a fault always gained his favor provided it was not done out of bragadocio [sic]. He was a fine disciplinarian. He managed more by love than by fear. He could scold and give [a] tongue lashing when he wanted to.

The windows in the old church were very low. One Sunday he was saying the mass and as he said "Your prayers are requested for the repose of the soul of Mrs. Henn who departed life last evening," a rooster jumped up on the window sill and flapped its wings and crowed.

Father Edward McCarthy was a beautiful singer, pretty good preacher, and . . . an able man. He was a pleasant man but rather quiet and retired. Was about 5 feet 6 inches high, was inclined to be corpulent and had bowed legs. He was walking along the street one day on a sick call whilst the hog catchers were after a pig. The hog ran between his legs in its blind chase and his legs being short, the hog carried him off. . . .

Father McElroy built the new church here. He was a man 6 feet high. He had a heavy frame but not a great deal of flesh. . . . . He had a sharp eye and black hair and florid complexion. . . He always knew how to take care of no. [number] one. He was stooped shouldered [sic]. . . . He preached well for about 20 minutes and then he would commence to repeat until one got tired. He was a man of great will. He was always opposed to all Sodalities and Sunday Schools and anything of that kind. He was also opposed to basements under churches.

Bishop Hughes was ordained at St. Joseph's and said his first mass there. [He] . . . later was made pastor of St. John's which he built. When he built St. John's, the people thought he was crazy because they did not believe that the city would ever extend so far west. Before leaving the city for New York to be consecrated bishop, he came to St. Joseph's and said Mass, saying that he said his first mass there and that he wanted to say his last there. . . . He was a good preacher and was a first class scholar. . . .

Bishop Neumann was a meek humble man. On one occasion I

was present at a gathering of priests when one of the priests, a pastor, abused the Bishop very much and the latter simply bowed his head and took it meekly.

Roughing it

[The City of Brotherly Love in the 1830's was definitely no forerunner to the age of ecumenism. Verbal battles raged in the local papers between the defenders of Catholicism and Protestantism. At times the battles were of a more primitive nature, such as the afternoon of July 12, 1831 when a band of angry Irish, to the cry "Every shillelagh is worth twenty swords!" attacked a parade of sword-brandishing Orangemen. Fr. Duddy recalls a less dangerous but equally effective mode of belligerence.]

No rich persons would come to mass at St. Joseph's . . . because of the slops that were thrown out the corner of 4th [and] the Alley from Paisley School for young ladies. On the other side there was a stable. Sometimes when people came up 4th Street to church, "thunder mugs" [chamber pots?] were emptied out on them. This was done only to well-dressed people. . . . I got some myself. This was done because the people were going to St. Joseph's Church. When Father Ryder came this was stopped, namely in 1833.

[And this is where the reminiscences stop.]

XAVIER SPECIALIST

THERE IS PROBABLY NO LIVING STUDENT of Church History who has worked so long, so consistently and so thoroughly in this field of scholarship as the Rev. Georg Schurhammer, S.J., of the *Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, in Rome. His bibliography, beginning in 1907 with his first publication, "Wunder und Ungläubige," in *Stimmen von Bergen*, and reaching down to his latest (1964), the Japanese translation of "The Disputations of P. Cosme de Torres, S.J., with the Buddhists in Yamaguchi in the year 1551," numbers three hundred and forty-three items, including books, articles, monographs and reviews.[1] Thematically the range of his literary output is very wide; all aspects of early Jesuit history, both European and Oriental, are included, without, however, the tone of this vast corpus becoming particular, provincial, and esoteric. The broad scope of this scholar's interests, his method, versatility, and the finesse of his whole approach reveal the liberally educated mind at its best. As a tribute to Fr. Schurhammer on the occasion of his eightieth birthday in 1962, the *Institutum Historicum* has published five volumes of his work. The contribution, considering that it does not represent the totality of his scholarly accomplishments, is staggering.[2]

Georg Schurhammer was born in 1882 in Unterglotteral, in southwest Germany.[3] The theological studies, which he had begun in 1901 at the University of Freiburg in the Breisgau, he interrupted to enter the Society of Jesus at Tisis in Vorarlberg. After his novitiate, and philosophical studies, which he made at the Jesuit College at Valkenberg in Holland, he departed for India where he taught at St. Mary's College in Bombay, and where he hoped to spend his life as a missionary. His career was suddenly and unexpectedly interrupted by an acute nervous breakdown which was to prove an important factor in determining the subsequent course of his life. In 1910, when the body of St.

[1] The bibliography of Fr. Schurhammer's works, complete up to 1964, is published by L. Szilas, S.J., *Orientalia* (Rome, 1963), pp. xiv–liii.

[2] Georg Schurhammer, S.J., *Gesammelte Studien, Bibliotheca Instituti Historici S.J.*, 20 (Rome, 1962); 21 (Rome, 1963); 22 (Rome, 1964); 23 (Rome, 1965).

[3] For the bibliographical notice here I am indebted to the work of H. Rahner, S.J., and L. Polgár, S.J., "Bibliographie des P. Georg Schurhammer, S.J.," *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 26 (1957) 422–52.

Francis Xavier was exposed at Goa, the young Georg Schurhammer made a pilgrimage to that celebrated shrine; and there, while kneeling before the precious relic, promised that, if through the intercession of the Saint he should recover his mental health, he would one day write his life in gratitude. The prayer was heard; in 1912 he returned to Europe, completed his theological studies, and was ordained at Valkenberg in 1914.

The World War prevented Fr. Schurhammer from returning to India to take up the missionary work that he loved so much. He became at this time affiliated with the editorial staff of the *Katholische Missionen*, which was located first at Valkenberg (1917), then at Bonn (1919). During the post-war years (1920–32) Fr. Schurhammer turned out a whole series of historical studies which proved that he was a research scholar of the first order. His extensive writings have appeared in German, English, Portuguese, Spanish, Italian and other modern languages, and are known throughout the world. Between 1920 and 1940 his output was prodigious. In 1922, for example, he published twenty-three important articles and monographs, e.g.: "Das Stadbild Kyotos zur Zeit des hl. Franz Xaver (1551)," and "Xaveriusforschung im 16. Jahrhundert"; in 1926, "Fernão Mendez Pinto und seine 'Peregrinaçam,'" and, in 1928, "Die kirchliche Sprachproblem in der japanischen Jesuitenmission des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts. Ein Stück Ritenfrage in Japan." This is only a very small sample of a wide range of titles that could be cited; and it is especially to be noted that a large portion of the research underlying these works is definitive.

In 1932 Georg Schurhammer was called to Rome to become a member of the newly founded *Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu*; he has remained there ever since. Now in his eighty-fifth year, he continues to devote himself to scientific research on problems of early Jesuit history. His long career is a perfect example of the selfless scholar whose life is generously oriented to the service of the community. It is hard to exaggerate the contribution which Fr. Schurhammer has made to the *Geistesgeschichte* of both the Church and the Society.

Casting aside myth and legend

When Fr. Schurhammer promised in 1910 to write the life of St. Francis Xavier, he had in mind a work which would be completed in two or three years; but as the project began to grow and take on its true proportions, it seemed that it would be the work of a whole lifetime; that is precisely what it has become. After more than fifty years the proposed "Life of Saint Francis Xavier" is still far from completion, largely because of the rigorous, sound methodology on which it rests. In

undertaking this vast project, the first problem which had to be faced was the accumulation of the necessary source material of the life of Xavier, not merely Jesuit and European, but also secular and Oriental sources. This research involved visiting all the great depositaries of documents throughout Europe, selecting pertinent material, studying and evaluating it, finally arranging it all for publication. Nothing like this had ever before been undertaken for tracing the beginnings of the Church's missionary activity from Europe to the Orient. It was a necessary propaedeutic for writing a scientific biography of Francis Xavier which would be a model for all future hagiographical writing. Casting aside myth and legend, the finished work will reveal the Saint in all his true human greatness.

In the years 1923–24 Fr. Schurhammer began this vast undertaking with a visit to Portugal and its archives. Here he was delighted to find thousands of original, unpublished documents dating from the period of Francis Xavier's lifetime and touching on both European and Oriental Portugal. The study of this copious material took ten years; but it was a period rich in subsidiary study and publication. On February 5, 1932 appeared the great work, "The Contemporary Sources for the History of Portuguese Asia and Neighboring Countries at the Time of St. Francis Xavier (1538–1552)."[4] Because this edition has been exhausted for a long time (most of it was destroyed during the war), and because there have been important contributions to this specialized field in the past thirty years, this new edition (1962) has been prepared and issued. Note has been taken of these scholarly advances, and of new source material that has been discovered since 1932. More than six thousand documents are listed here. Fr. Schurhammer provides an enlightening introduction in which he situates the contents of the book historically, evaluates the different kinds of source material and lists the archives where these literary treasures are currently preserved. The geographical range of the survey is remarkable, including Europe, East Africa, Abyssinia, Arabia, Persia, India, the Malayan archipelago, the Philippines, China and Japan. The work, provided with index, literature, photographs, cross references, is methodologically perfect. It may be supplemented; it will never be surpassed.

The whole life of St. Francis Xavier, as Fr. Schurhammer envisions it, is contained under eight principle headings: 1) the life and times of the Saint in Europe, which include the basic and definitive history of

[4] G. Schurhammer, S.J., *Die Zeitgenössischen Quellen zur Geschichte Portugiesisch-Asiens und seiner Nachbarländer zur Zeit des hl. Franz Xaver* (1538–1552), *Bibliotheca Instituti Historici S.J.*, 20 (Rome, 1962).

the foundation of the Society of Jesus;[5] 2) the career of Xavier in the Orient;[6] 3) a critical edition of the Saint's letters and other writings;[7] 4) a description and evaluation of his miracles; 5) the cult of the Saint; 6) a complete bibliography of all that has been written on him; and 7–8) the iconography of Francis Xavier. In the many years that Fr. Schurhammer has been preparing this monumental work he has had occasion to visit every part of the world in which St. Francis Xavier has lived and worked, and he has had the opportunity to master all the source material that underlies the life career of the Saint. The result of this intensive study has been a series of articles and monographs on the most recondite aspects of Xavier's history both at home and abroad.

Orientalia and *Xaveriana*

In two volumes the best of Schurhammer's Xaverian research over the years has been collected and edited. The first volume, *Orientalia*,[8] is more directly concerned with the day and age of the Saint, his ambit and milieu, his contemporaries and his immediate successors. Here we see the universality of Fr. Schurhammer's scholarship as he ranges over many continents and countries with their distinct languages and customs: Portuguese India, Ormuz, North and South India, Indonesia, Japan, China, and Africa. Some of the titles suggest the character of the volume, e.g.: "The Treasures of the Jesuit Archives in Macao and Peking," (1929); "The Conversion of the Paraver (1535–1537)," (1935); "The First Japanese Embassy to Europe (1582–1590)," (1921); "The Jesuit Missionaries of the 16th and 17th Centuries and their Influence on Japanese Painting," (1933); "The Temple of the Cross," (1928), and "The Malabar Church and Rome before the Coming of the Portuguese," (1933).

The second volume, *Xaveriana*,[9] is devoted to various studies of the personal history of Francis Xavier and his active apostolate in the Orient. It is prefaced by *Chronologia Xaveriana*, a very useful, systematic chronology of the life of Xavier. Two articles deal with his spirituality:

[5] G. Schurhammer, S.J., *Franz Xaver. Sein Leben und seine Zeit*, 1: *Europa 1506–1541* (Freiburg, 1955).

[6] G. Schurhammer, S.J., *Franz Xaver. Sein Leben und seine Zeit*, 2: *Asien (1541–1552)*; 1: *Indien und Indonesein (1541–1547)*, (Freiburg, 1963).

[7] G. Schurhammer, S.J., and J. Wicki, S.J., *Epistolae S. Francisci Xaverii aliaque eius scripta*, 2 Vols., *Monumenta Historica* S. J., 67 (Rome, 1944–45).

[8] G. Schurhammer, S.J., *Orientalia, Bibliotheca Instituti Historici S. J.*, 21 (Rome, 1963).

[9] G. Schurhammer, S.J., *Xaveriana, Bibliotheca Instituti Historici S.J.*, 22 (Rome, 1964).

"Francis Xavier," (1963), and "Mary and St. Francis Xavier," (1952). A very stimulating chapter (XII) studies critically the manifold forms of the Xavier-legend, e.g.: the extraordinary success of his missionary activity, the many Xaverian miracles and wonders, the exaggerated numbers of converts, the millions (actually about 30,000) of baptisms administered by the Saint, and the like. The objectivity with which these delicate questions are handled is commendable. For Fr. Schurhammer it is a matter of discovering the sources and allowing them to speak for themselves. Truth is invariably more attractive than fancy.

Of special interest here from the point of view of historical method is the important article, "The Crab-miracle of Xavier—a Buddhist Legend?" which appeared in 1962.[10] Perhaps of all the episodes in the life of St. Francis Xavier the crab miracle is the most popular, certainly the most picturesque. The story is well known. While aboard ship, tossed by the stormy waters of the Moluccas, Xavier cast his crucifix into the tempestuous sea, with the fervent prayer that God might calm its rough swell. Later, while standing on the shore at Tamilau, a crab, bearing the lost crucifix, emerged from the waters of the sea, and returned it to Xavier. Since Lucena's *Life of Francis Xavier*, which appeared in Rome in 1613, the miraculous incident has become a characteristic feature in the history of the missionary Saint. It appeared later, in 1623, in Pope Gregory XV's bull of canonization, and it is to be found in almost every subsequent life. The motif is also well known to Xaverian iconography.

In 1905 the Bollandist Hippolyte Delehaye in his *Légendes hagiographiques* posed the question of the authenticity of 'this miracle.' "The story," he wrote, "of the crucifix of Saint Francis Xavier—submerged into the sea and rescued by a crab, is borrowed from Japanese mythology." It was derived from a Buddhist legend, recast in Christian terms. Others agreed with the judgment of this internationally known student of hagiography.[11] Not so Fr. Schurhammer. Characteristically he resolved to re-examine the whole problem on the basis of the extant sources, the only true, reliable link with the historical past.

The result of this intensive study was to show that the crab-incident was in fact an historical event. Of importance to Fr. Schurhammer in reaching this conclusion was the testimony presented on November 3, 1608 to Francisco de Otaço, S.J., Rector of the College in Cebu in the Philippines, by Fausto Rodrigues, who knew Francis Xavier personally.

[10] "Das Krebswunder Xavers—Eine Buddhistische Legende?" *Xaveriana*, pp. 537–62, originally published in *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft* 46 (1962) 109–21; 208–16; 253–63.

[11] This idea had been expressed much earlier by A. B. Mitford, *Tales of Old Japan* (London, 1871), pp. 40–53.

In the course of this examination (which was preparatory to the canonization process) we find among other things a description of the crab-incident by one who claimed to have witnessed it. This testimony in the context of other factors appeared so convincing to Fr. Schurhammer, that he was willing to accept 'the event,' without, however, declaring it to be 'a miracle.' Wondrous as it appears, it might still have a natural explanation. The Buddhist legend of 'the holy crab' was formed under Christian influence.

Varia

The two volumes entitled *Varia*[12] contain all kinds of disparate materials, including seventy-two pictures of various Xaverian *loci*; the central bond of unity is Francis Xavier. The first of the two volumes forms a continuation of *Orientalia* and *Xaveriana*. In this series of studies we see Fr. Schurhammer as the scholar of meticulous detail whose preoccupation it is to put Xaverian studies in good order, to leave nothing unsaid, to gather up the fragments. The wide variety of his range is seen at once in the principal headings, which include specifically Oriental and Xaverian studies, the relics and canonization of St. Francis Xavier, his cult through the ages, various special questions on the American Missions, even some items on local history of his own beloved Schwabian Glotteral. A series of articles on the portrait representation of Xavier, on the attempt to discover the *vera effigies* of the Saint, shows that Fr. Schurhammer has a certain competence in art history. The second volume is largely devoted to important book reviews which he has written over the years.

One of the truly important contributions which Fr. Georg Schurhammer has made to Jesuit history is to maintain it on a universal plane, to see it in terms of world history, as Oswald Spengler and Arnold Toynbee have seen it. His scholarly work has proved valuable in understanding the origins of the Society, the expansion of the Church in the days of the Counter Reformation into the vast regions of the Orient, and the important role which the Society played in this enterprise. In the person of St. Francis Xavier, Fr. Schurhammer has revealed to us one of the true wonders of Church History—an adventurer and an explorer, but first of all an apostle of Jesus Christ and his Gospel.

ROBERT E. MCNALLY, S.J.

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[12] G. Schurhammer, S.J., *Varia* 1: *Anhänge*; 2: *Besprechungen und Index*, *Bibliotheca Instituti Historici S.J.*, 23 (Rome, 1965).

CATECHETICS: A Look at the New Trends

(Listing prepared and commented upon by Fr. Daniel J. Fitzpatrick, S.J. and Fr. Kenneth J. Hezel, S.J., both of whom are tertians.)

It is thirty years now since the publication of Josef Jungmann's *The Good News and Our Proclamation of the Faith*, which so revolutionized the modern catechetical movement. During these years the movement has had a rather sporadic and uneven growth throughout the world. Jungmann's insight, that the most important aspect of catechesis is its message, that is, the *kerygma*, has taken deep roots—so deep that the trend over the years has been merely to reaffirm that *kerygma* is the core of the Christian preaching. Hence much of the literature of the recent decade has centered around a restatement of older insights and an attempt to devise new methods of implementing them.

Perhaps this trend was a necessary step forward. The catechetical movement knew that it must advance, and yet it did not know exactly where it was going. A real search was in progress. Those involved in catechetics were brave enough to continue the search despite the many blind alleys along the way. The patience and courage which this search has demanded is now at last beginning to bear fruit. The search is by no means over; it can never be. Yet there are signs that the catechetical movement has come of age and will take a new direction in the years to come.

The cause for this optimism is the appearance of several books in the last few years, which, if nothing else, have caused catechists to take another hard look at their task in today's complex world. What Jungmann did in 1936 must be done again in 1967.

Basic questions

The new signs of life are best seen in the fact that catechetics is now, more than ever, asking the right questions. Perhaps these are best summed up in the general questions posed by the title of one of the

more significant books to appear in the last two years, Fr. Alfonso Nebreda's *Kerygma in Crisis*? (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1965). Nebreda answers this self-imposed question by stating that *kerygma* is indeed in crisis and that the dedicated Christian teacher and preacher must face up to this fact. In the first three chapters of this rather short book, Nebreda sets up the problem as he sees it by showing quite clearly that to catechize the world of today requires something more than mere presentation of the Gospel message in terms of evangelization. In the next three chapters, he offers his attempt at a solution in terms of the now widely-heralded concept of "pre-evangelization." "It must be made clear that the *terminus ad quem*—man existentially taken in his concrete cultural, socio-psychological condition—is as much a part of the theology of preaching as the *terminus a quo*—the word of God in its creative dynamism."

In today's "non-Christian" world, the Christian message can only be heard if the hearer has first been prepared to accept this message. This, of course, is first of all a missionary principle, but Nebreda has taken it and shown its validity in the so-called Christian countries as well. There is such a phenomenon as the "baptized non-Christian," even if this notion must be limited and varied more than Nebreda would lead us to believe. The author has not used many words in an attempt to impress his readers, but he has spoken significantly and well. He has asked a basic question which calls out for an answer.

Nebreda's emphasis on the existential aspects of the catechetical situation has been echoed almost simultaneously with the translation into English of Fr. Marcel van Caster's book, *The Structure of Catechetics* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1965). Despite the fact that this is a rather poorly written book—it seems to be a translation of class notes rather than a manuscript prepared for publication—it contains many insights valuable for today's catechetical problems. This is an attempt at an "existential catechesis," in which the author points out that the catechist must not only be faithful to the word of God but also to the actual situation in which the students find themselves. Not only are the kerygmatic aspects of catechesis treated, but the anthropological aspects are also considered as well; and a way is sought to face the problem of communicating the word of God to man, of spanning the gap between God's word and man's existential situation. The emphasis on an "existential catechesis" rather than on a solely kerygmatic catechesis is important, especially since it comes from Fr. van Caster, who is a professor at the Lumen Vitae Center in Brussels.

Catechist and theologian

Also significant is the fact that *The Structure of Catechetics* makes numerous references to many of our foremost twentieth century theologians. Such names appear as Bouyer, C. H. Dodd, J. N. D. Kelly, Daniélou, and Guardini—a sign that the catechetical renewal wants to take seriously what these modern theologians are saying.

The dialogue that must take place between theology and catechetics is of prime importance. Each discipline has much to say to the other, and this has been brought out most forcefully by Bro. Gabriel Moran, F.S.C., in his latest book, *Catechetics of Revelation* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1966). Bro. Moran, already a well-known theological figure from his previous two books, *Scripture and Tradition* and *Theology of Revelation*, has done a great service to the catechetical movement. After wide and deep reading in the field, Moran has pointed to some serious and basic questions which must be faced if the catechetical movement is not to stumble and fall.

The first three chapters, which comprise Part I of the book, contain the kernel of Moran's message. Three areas are explored: "The Catechetical Problem," "Recent Developments," and "The Present Situation." From the outset Moran points out that the catechetical problem truly centers on the problem of revelation. For it is here that catechetics and theology meet; the way in which catechesis is to treat revelation will depend very much on how theology defines it. For Moran, "Christian revelation is a personal communion of knowledge, an interrelationship of God and the individual within a believing community." Thus, in Jesus Christ revelation "reaches a high point never to be diminished. With the resurrection of Christ and the sending of the Spirit, revelation *begins* in fullness." Revelation "ceases with Christ, but Christ never ceases," and thus revelation is truly "God now revealing himself to man in Jesus Christ." Moran points out that it is catechesis which first had these insights, yet there has been a lack of theological inquiry to support them. Moran rightly suggests that theology could be of importance here, especially a theology of revelation which "brings out the present, personal, social character of God revealed in Christ." Such a theology of revelation excludes nothing that is good and human. God speaks to different men in different ways, and this is all part of the on-going process of revelation. Here, above all, Moran makes a valuable contribution to catechetics, for such a notion of revelation has widespread significance both for catechetical theory and practice.

Moran then proceeds to outline the purpose and scope of his work. He does not propose a detailed catechetical method derived from his

theological study. Rather the purpose of his book is "to examine some of the commonly held principles of recent catechetical study from the viewpoint of a theology of revelation." This is an important area for catechetics and one which falls within the four steps suggested by David Hunter, in *Christian Education as Engagement* (Greenwich: Seabury, 1963) as necessary for the improvement of religious education: (1) understand the situation giving rise to the need; (2) identify the real dynamisms of the situation; (3) develop a strategy for coming to grips with these dynamic forces; and (4) plan tactics and procedure. Hunter contends that we constantly jump from the first to the fourth of these steps, whereas the main work lies in between. Moran sees his own work as lying somewhere between the second and third stage.

After defining the problem and delineating the scope of his work, Moran launches into his task in Chapter Two with a consideration of the developments since Jungmann. Moran feels that Jungmann rightly centered the problem on the question of revelation, and yet at the same time overlooked some important items pertaining to the theology of revelation and its relation to catechesis. He also feels that there is a good deal implied in Jungmann's work which subsequent catechetical authors failed to make explicit.

When Moran discusses the present situation of catechesis in his third chapter, he is at his best. The thinking here is clear, probing, and at times disturbing. Many of the principles enunciated in the catechetical literature Moran labels as "vague and negative generalities." In fact, he goes so far as to say that the "catechetical movement has from its inception hovered on the brink of trivialization; it continues to hang there." And Moran is not afraid to spell this out in detail:

> . . . there is practically no one associated with religious education today who would say that he advocates rationalism instead of living faith, that he prefers legalism to personal commitment, that he wants meaningless catechism answers rather that a relevant Christian message. The only trouble with this statement of aims is that unless one goes more deeply into the matter, the second half of each of these pairs is simply the negation of the first. Despite appearances to the contrary, these formulas express much more clearly what we are opposed to than what we are in favor of (pp. 31–32).

And again:

> A deep probing of these issues behind the new phrases is not always evident in catechetical writing. This, I would claim, is the great crisis of catechetics today; not the dying catechism and manual, but the still rising hope that the education of hundreds of millions of people in an incredibly complex world can be carried out with a bit of Scripture and liturgy and much sincerity and good will. This simply is not enough. There is need for patient inquiry, deep understanding, and detailed knowledge (pp. 34–35).

One of the most important contributions Moran makes is his consideration of the student's freedom. This, he feels, is a central issue in modern religious education and one which has not been taken seriously enough. Much of modern catechetical literature confidently assumes "that we have improved 'the content of our message'; we know what is good for students and we can get them to respond to what we want them to do." According to Moran the catechist has failed to realize that the student can say "no" as well as "yes" when the Christian message is presented to him. Moran returns to this theme in a later chapter of his book when he considers "Revelation and Individual Freedom."

The rest of the book, Part II, deals in more detail with many of the problem areas presented in the first three chapters. Although Moran asks many serious questions, specific answers are not always given; this is outside the scope of his present work. Nevertheless, many guidelines are suggested to point out the direction in which the answers lie.

Cathechesis of Revelation is an important book. Bro. Moran has taken great pains to do the required research, has had the insight to propose many good suggestions, and has had the courage to point out areas where he has found modern catechesis deficient. We are grateful to him for his work.

The Nijmegen School

Coincident with the publication of Bro. Moran's book there appeared in English a translation of a Dutch attempt to reformulate the catechetical problem. *Fundamentals and Programs of a New Catechesis* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1966) is the product of the Higher Institute of Catechetics of Nijmegen, which presents a new thought-provoking and challenging program of catechesis. The program, tentative in nature, is at present undergoing experimentation in Holland. Few religious educators, including the authors of the two major high school religion textbooks used in our schools today (V. Novak, S.J. and M. Link, S.J.), are satisfied that the present programs or books are the total answer to our problems. Nor is an all-embracing solution honestly hoped for. *Fundamentals and Programs of a New Catechesis* deserves our attention because of the genuinely new and fresh outlook it provides.

The book, honest to its title, describes in Part One a theory of catechesis and some practical implications based mainly on a new concept of revelation and man's earthly existence. Part Two, "Programs," spells out, in as structured a manner as principles allow, the aims, method, psychology, and content for primary and secondary school pupils in Holland. It would be less than fair to judge these outlined programs

without first seeking to understand the basic principles underlying the courses described.

To speak of a "new" concept of revelation and man's earthly existence is not really cricket. This new understanding does not originate with the Nijmegen school (nor do they make this claim), but is based upon the latest trends in Catholic theology and catechesis itself. And this may be one of the book's main values, for it gathers together, adds to, and attempts to go beyond much that has already been written on these topics.

The offer of salvation

It is within the context of the pastoral work of the Church that revelation, faith, and catechesis or "education in living the faith" are spoken of. The Church's task is none other than the continuation of Christ's work on earth, namely, to confront men with God's offer of salvation, "communion of love with God Himself," and thereby to awaken and nourish man's faith. Throughout the entire history of salvation, this offer of God to enlighten man's existence and bring men to himself, has been revealed in historic word-events. This confrontation of man by God through signs—in the Old Testament at the Reed Sea, in the New Testament in Jesus Christ, and now in the Church through its liturgy, Scripture, and human events—this is God's revelation. Seeing each situation of man's life as God's invitation to *this* man to communion with Him rests upon the Incarnational premise that all creation has been redeemed and is in contact with Christ. "Christ's salvation, His Ascent to the Father, makes our whole life and everything it contains a possible ascent to the Father, a possible participation in His Ascent." This understanding plays an important role in the Nijmegen approach to catechesis.

Just as revelation and the possibility of salvation embrace all of human existence, so too man's acceptance through faith must embrace that whole existence. Faith is a vision, a new view of life; it is a commitment, a turning from self toward God; it is life, a new attitude and way of living. Yet faith, while always total, can grow as man's freedom and understanding grow. But it does so only in terms of human growth, and only as a man increases his ability to make a human response. An essential factor, then, in Nijmegen catechesis is the integration of the various aspects of man's growth: intellectual, social, psychological, physical, religious, environmental, etc., according to the individual's stage of development. So the task of the catechist is clearly to bring the child from an unquestioning faith to a personal response, to enable him to see his entire existence as God's saving action, and

to recognize each major situation in life as a further offer of divine salvation that becomes fruitful only through his free human acceptance.

While this is not an entirely new conception of faith and revelation, its application to an entire catechetical program is new. The kerygmatic method in most texts today begins with revelation and tries to apply it to the student's life. Nijmegen begins with the life of *this* student, in *this* class, at *this* stage of growth, and seeks to throw light on *this* life as it is lived today and directed to the future. This light is the mystery of Christ as it exists for us today—in Scripture, liturgy, and in the life of men, especially that of the religion teacher. Beginning inductively with the stage of personal growth and problems experienced by *this* class, the teacher helps the students discover the totality of their lives "as a gift of God and as an invitation and project to translate that Christian outlook into personal commitment wholly inspired by faith." The essential difference between kerygmatic and inductive catechesis is the starting point. Simply stated, the kerygmatic approach takes one aspect of revelation and seeks to show how it fits into this student's life. The inductive takes this student's life here and now, and seeks that aspect of revelation which will enrich his life.

If we agree that the aim of catechesis is to awaken and nourish a faith-response in students by showing how God meets them with salvation in everything He does, then the pedagogy will also change. Even less than before will the grasping of the specific content of matter be the main objective. And so marks will play a minor role; in the schools of Holland no grades are given at all. A syllabus can be suggested for each year on the basis of general needs, interests, and psychology of the students at a particular age level, but each teacher must allow himself sufficient freedom to adapt the matter further to his particular group. Homework comes not from assignment, but from interest. Memory of facts gives way to remembrance of experiences which deepen the faith. High school class-hours are reduced to two per week. Naturally, dialogue and self-activity are the main tools. In the programs sketched for years one through twelve, there is a gradual de-emphasis on assigned subject matter for each grade; by the 11th and 12th grade, the pupils themselves choose the matter for the discussions.

Such an approach raises many difficult problems: Is this too idealistic? Does the average teacher have the time and the ability? How avoid duplication? How 'cover all the matter'? Is the intellectual aspect of faith being watered down? How does one grade achievement? Will it work? Each of these questions is discussed within the context of either

the principles or the programs outlined in the second part of the book. The Nijmegen school does not claim to supply all the answers; in fact the book is an invitation for cooperative effort toward achieving solutions. But it does attempt to meet the main problem still present in many classrooms: the divorce of religious learning from the students' lives. Evidence for this abounds at meetings of religion teachers, in the Fichter Report, in the position paper at Los Angeles last summer on "Formation Through the Religion Program," and in the reactions of students themselves (cf. Letters in *America*, Nov. 26, 1965). At least two new religion textbook series have already adopted some of these basic principles, and they have been successfully used by teachers to complement the Novak and Link texts. They are *The Roots of Faith* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1966) from the Pittsburgh Diocese, and a CCD text and manual, *To Live Is Christ* (Chicago: Regnery, 1966).

A Protestant missionary recently reported the following conversation he had with a Chaco Indian of Colombia:

> "Have missionaries who work here ever made mistakes?"
> "Yes, they have made mistakes."
> "Can you tell me about any of the mistakes they have made?"
> "It is hard for an Indian to say such a word . . ."
> "True, it is hard to name mistakes; maybe you can name just one mistake they have made."
> (After a period of silence)—"It is often that they scratch where it doesn't itch."

There is no doubt that teaching religion is the most challenging task in our high schools today. The Nijmegen book is a positive contribution in helping us to meet this challenge effectively, if no other reason than that its sole aim is to scratch where it itches.